SKRIFTER UTGIVNA AV SVENSKA INSTITUTET I ATHEN, 4°, XXX
ACTA INSTITUTI ATHENIENSIS REGNI SUECIAE, SERIES IN 4°, XXX

The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation

Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1—5 June, 1981

EDITED BY
Robin Hägg

STOCKHOLM 1983

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Abstract

Hägg, Robin (ed.)
The Greek Renaissance of the eighth century B.C.: Tradition and innovation.
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"The Greek Renaissance" designates the formative period of the Greek society of historical times during the latter half of the eighth century B.C. The 24 papers originally read at a symposium deal with various aspects of this period; they are followed by transcripts of the discussions of the symposium. The contributors are specialists in ancient history, archaeology, philology, epigraphy, art history and history of religion. Among the topics dealt with are historical reasons for the rediscovery of the Mycenaean past in the age of Homer, the regional pottery styles, burial customs and attitudes to death, Oriental traits in epic poetry, the origin and early spread of the alphabet, Late Geometric art, especially vase painting, early Greek religion, especially cult images and altars, the growth of the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, diviners and magicians, the working of bronze and iron in sanctuaries, obeloi as pre-monetary currency, the size and growth of population, Homeric medicine, cult of the ancestors, the symposion as social organisation, the custom of gift exchange. Questions dealt with in the discussions concerned continuity versus discontinuity, uniformity versus regional diversity, internal development versus external influences, the meaning of the 'Renaissance' and the reasons for its occurrence in the eighth century, the social and economic changes in the Greek society connected with the formation of the *polis*.

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Preface

The first international symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens was basically just an enlarged seminar in a series of international seminars that had been held at the Institute four to six times a year since 1976. Since this innovation met with success and its proceedings could be published as *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age* (vol. XXVIII in this series), it was natural to plan for a continuation and to arrange further international symposia on specific topics in Greek history and archaeology. The Society of the Friends of the Swedish Institute in Athens (*Föreningen Svenska Atheninstitutets Vänner*), who had financed the first symposium, again offered its support, however the main contribution to the expenses of the second symposium was donated by the Carl Kempe Foundation (*Carl Kempes Stiftelse*) in Stockholm. The Friends also put at the Institute's disposal two travel grants to enable graduate students from Swedish universities to attend the symposium. The moral and financial support of these two organisations, which made the second symposium possible, is gratefully acknowledged.

It was also natural to choose "the Greek Renaissance" as the topic of the second symposium. The three decades since V.R. Desborough's pioneering book *Protogeometric Pottery* (1952) have seen an ever increasing interest in the Greek Dark Ages, a period until then rather neglected in research. Important contributions were published by Desborough himself, Jan Bouzek, A.M. Snodgrass and J.N. Coldstream, to mention just a few. Although it is beginning to become obvious that the "Dark Ages" were not really as "dark" as we have imagined, it is, on the other hand, quite clear that an extremely important development took place in the eighth century, beginning some time during the first half. It is this formative period of Greek society that two of the authors mentioned, Coldstream and Snodgrass, have designated as the Greek Renaissance (see refs. in S. Hiller's paper, p. 9), implying that this was the period of revival after the Dark Ages and thus the emergence of the historical Greek society. It is then that a complex society emerged again, it was a time of great change and widening horizons. It was the time of the introduction of the alphabet and the flowering of the epic, and it is probably during this period that the *polis* was formed. Thus the topic of the Greek Renaissance is ideal for a multi-disciplinary approach, such as was attempted at this symposium, where specialists in ancient history, archaeology, philology, epigraphy, art history and history of religion were invited to contribute to the discussion. As can be seen from the present volume the papers offered were substantial and the discussions lively and to the point. It is my hope that many of the problems touched upon during the three days in Athens (not to mention during the informal talks on the bus excursions to Kalapodi, Lefkandi and Eretria!) have been brought closer to their solution and that the publication of the proceedings will be useful and inspiring for those who did not attend the symposium.

It remains to acknowledge the help and support of many people who made the Symposium and its subsequent publication possible. Mr. Anders Sundberg, the Secretary of the Society of the Friends, helped in innumerable ways, before, during and after the Symposium, as did also Miss Brita Alroth, the Institute's Assistant and Librarian, Miss Bodil Nordström, the Institute's Secretary, and my wife, Dr. Nanno Marinatos; the latter once more undertook the laborious task of transcribing and editing the discussions. The participants in the excursions were guided by Dr. Rainer Felsch and his collaborators at Kalapodi and by Dr. Petros Themelis at Lefkandi and Eretria. Many of the final manuscripts were typed by Miss Nordström in Athens and Mrs. Marie Stenberg in Göteborg. Dr. W.W. Phelps, Athens, revised those manuscripts whose authors did not have English as their

mother tongue. Mr. Johan Flemberg, former Assistant at the Institute, helped with various matters during the printing in Uppsala. Miss Ann-Louise Schallin, Göteborg, made the drawing for the cover of the volume and the drawings for some of the papers. The indexes were compiled by Miss Gullög Nordquist, M.A., Assistant and Librarian at the Institute for the years 1981—83, and Dr. Jon C. van Leuven. The printing of the volume was made possibly by a grant from the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences (*Humanistisk-samhällsvetenskapliga forskningsrådet*), while the editing and distribution of the volume were supported once more by the Kempe Foundation and the Friends of the Institute. My warmest thanks to all those involved for their invaluable contributions.

Robin Hägg

Athens, July 1983

Possible Historical Reasons for the Rediscovery of the Mycenaean Past in the Age of Homer

by
Stefan Hiller

In his admirable book on the Dark Age of Greece, A. M. Snodgrass gives a concluding chapter of what he calls the "Greek Renaissance" of the middle and later eighth century.[1] Among the most prominent features which characterize this period he reckons the expansion of Greek activity overseas and the founding of colonies; the revival of representational art; the organization of new states in the shape of *poleis* with their surrounding territories; the strengthening of intercommunication between most areas of Greece in connection with a more widespread evenness in prosperity; a general and very marked progress in sacred and domestic architecture, which shows a higher standard of living and material development.[2] "These years of reviving fortunes", as he goes on to demonstrate, "also witnessed a revival in the other sense of the word: the new and intense enthusiasm for establishing links with the heroic age." One of the major causes for this phenomenon lay in the diffusion of epic poetry, and "Homer, too, has emerged as a witness of the material developments of the eighth century".[3]

Likewise in a no less remarkable book on Geometric Greece, J. N. Coldstream, who calls the period between 770 and 700 B.C. "the Greek Renaissance", enumerates as its five most striking manifestations "the first outbirst of figured art on the Dipylon grave monuments, the beginning of the colonial movement to the west, the rise of the great Panhellenic sanctuaries, the flowering of the Ionic epic in the west and its Panhellenic circulation, and the recovery of literacy".[4] A further important factor in this development was the rapid growth of population which led to colonization, as well as stimulating commerce beyond the Aegean. Apart from these material aspects he recognized "the real matter of the Greek renaissance" in the spread of Homeric poetry. It was Homer's poems which "inspired a rebirth of interest in anyone and anything belonging to the period which we know as Mycenaean".[5]

The question arising from these basic observations to be discussed in this paper is this: Why and in what way increasing wealth and commerce aroused such a strong interest in the Mycenaean past. Homer, it is correct to say, is a witness to the material developments of the later eighth century, but how can we determine what was the cause and what the effect? Prosperity alone will never produce a genius like Homer nor will it necessarily lead to the rebirth of interest in a heroic past. Likewise—and this is still more difficult to judge—we are confronted by the question of which came first: Homer and his praise of a heroic past or a common interest in, and consciousness of, this past. It may well be that there was a mutual interaction between both phenomena. However we may presume that if Homer had not reflected the dominant spirit of his age, he would hardly have gained the widespread popularity which he evidently enjoyed among his contemporaries.

Still, as has already been said, it is often very difficult to distinguish between cause and effect. In certain cases, however, we may succeed in seeing what came first. These include the renewed contacts with overseas countries in the course of the ninth century and the foundation of colonies in Sicily and Southern Italy around the middle of the eighth century. These events certainly antedate the *Odyssey* in its final shape and cannot have been occasioned by it. On the evidence of Cypriot influence and imports detected in Attica, Euboea, Crete, and Rhodes from the period before and after 900 B.C. as well as of some late Protogeometric and later Attic pottery in Cyprus and the Levant, Greek contacts with the Eastern Mediterra-

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[1] A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971, pp. 416 ff.

[2] Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp. 416 (colonization), 417 (repres. art), 419 (regional patterns, intercommunication), 421—429 (architecture).

[3] Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp 429 ff. (historical consciousness in poetry and art).

[4] J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977, p. 367.

[5] Coldstream (supra n. 4), p. 369.

nean became operative again at this period.[6] Likewise some Protogeometric sherds from Calabria (possibly of Ithacan fabric), though not spectacular in themselves, nevertheless show some contacts with this region.[7] Thus there is evidence for at least some traffic within the Eastern and Western Mediterranean already as early as the beginning of the ninth century. The Greek settlement at Al Mina, which may be dated to about 800 B.C.,[8] and, soon afterwards, the first permanent Greek habitation on Ischia, which is indicated by the Greek pottery from the cemetery of San Montano,[9] cannot be sudden events but only the result of some earlier experiences and contacts.[10] This is demonstrated by the occurrence of early pottery in Etruria and in the pre-Greek graves at Cumae from the early eighth century.[11] The foundation of the Greek settlement at Cumae,[12] which is traditionally dated not later than the middle of the eighth century, presupposes a clear conception resulting from earlier contacts with this region.

If we date Homer to the second half of the eighth century, the most likely date,[13] he cannot have been the cause of these developments, which at least in their origins must have preceeded him. As Homer himself had a long line of forerunners, we may presume that the memory of the events referred to in his poems had never been interrupted. Thus some knowledge of the Trojan war and the events which followed it must have persisted through the Dark Ages, and the same will be true also of the splendour of the Mycenaean Age and its far-reaching contacts, e.g. with Egypt, Syria and Italy. It has been suggested that Menelaus' wanderings, reported in the fourth book of the *Odyssey*, which took him to Cyprus, Phoenicia, Egypt, Northern Africa (Aethiopia) and the Western Mediterranean (Eremboi) may reflect the historical situation within the later eighth century.[14] This may be true; it is however by no means impossible that they represent a Late Bronze Age tradition, since we know that in Mycenaean times, too, ships went to these foreign shores. And why should, for instance, Homer's Phoenicians not be identified with the population which settled in the Levant immediately after the migration wave of the early twelfth century, and which may have already threatened the Eastern Mediterranean for some time before they were defeated by Ramses III in *ca.* 1191?[15]

There is no reason to doubt that some knowledge of foreign countries also persisted during the period of more or less total isolation, and that this traditional knowledge was based primarily on oral poetry and oral reports. Therefore, when the links of trade and commerce were reestablished, the Greeks knew something about their destinations: these were the countries they had learned about by listening to the old legends. Thus they were conscious that they were following the traces of the heroes; and the legends acquired increased factualness with the reactivation of the traditional routes of overseas communications. With the resumption of trade and commerce with the East and West, the Greeks found themselves confronted with a vital aspect of their heroic past.

In a certain way the Mycenaean connections overseas were important both for the first and the second wave of colonization. The first wave was directed to the Western shore of Asia Minor and was led by Athenian nobles of Pylian origin.[16] It concentrated on the region of Miletus. This choice was not due to pure chance, for Miletus had been a Mycenaean stronghold, and it can be shown that it had close connections with Pylos. Slave-women from Miletus (*mi-ra-ti-ja*) and also from Halicarnassus (*ze-pu$_2$-ri-ja*) were mentioned in the Pylian Linear B-tablets.[17] Besides, it has long been recognized that the names of the descendants of Neleus who founded Greek Miletus as

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[6] On these contacts, see Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp. 331 ff.; for Euboea, cf. M. R. Popham and L. H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, p. 361.

[7] Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp. 85, 332.

[8] Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp. 334 f.; Coldstream (supra n. 4), pp. 92 ff.

[9] Snodgrass (supra n. 1), p. 335.

[10] For parallel contacts between Lefkandi and Vergina, which began in the Late Protogeometric period, cf. Popham and Sackett (supra n. 6), p. 360, who state that "it can hardly be accidental that nearly 200 years later we are told of the establishment of a colony of Euboeans (perhaps the first in the north) in the immediate vicinity."

[11] Snodgrass (supra n. 1), p. 335; Coldstream (supra n. 4), pp. 223 ff.

[12] Cf. Coldstream (supra n. 4) p. 230 (after Pithecusae, "within the bracket 760—730 B.C."); H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte* (Hb. d. Altertumswiss.), München 1960, p. 91 ("spätestens um die Mitte des 8. Jh.s").

[13] On the date of Homer, cf. W. Schadewaldt, "Homer und sein Jahrhundert", in: *Von Homers Welt und Werk*, Stuttgart 1959^3, pp. 87 ff.; A. Heubeck, *Die homerische Frage*, Darmstadt 1974, p. 216 ("Homer gehört in die zweite Hälfte des 8. Jh.s"); A. Lesky, "Homeros", *RE Suppl.* XI, Stuttgart 1967, col. 7 ("Ansatz in die zweite Hälfte des 8. Jh.s, wobei auch dessen Mitte noch in Erwägung bleibt").

[14] Cf. W. von Soden, "Die Erembai der Odyssee und die Irrfahrt des Menelaos", *WS* 72, 1959, pp. 26—29; Heubeck (supra n. 13), pp. 219 f.; idem, "Geschichte bei Homer", *SMEA* 20, 1979, pp. 246 ff.; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, Harmondsworth 1968, p. 180.

[15] On the contrary view, see Heubeck (supra n. 14), pp. 246 f.: "Der Dichter hat in kühner Unbefangenheit das, was die Griechen des 8. Jh.s gesehen und erlebt haben, in die Welt der Heroen verpflanzt und die Vorväter der zeitgenössischen Phoiniker — wider alle historische Logik — zu Mitspielern in der Welt der mythischen Troiakämpfer gemacht." Cf. also Schadewaldt (supra n. 13), pp. 112 f.

[16] For the traditions referring to the Ionian migration, cf. M. B. Sakellariou, *La migration grecque en Ionie*, Athens 1958; T. B. L. Webster, *Die Nachfahren Nestors. Mykene und die Anfänge der griechischen Kultur*, München-Wien 1961, pp. 32 f.

[17] J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1973^2, p. 561, s.v. *mi-ra-ti-ja*, and p. 593, s.v. *ze-pu$_2$-ra$_3$*; cf. also S. Hiller, "Ra-mi-ni-ja: Mykenisch-kleinasiatische Beizehungen und die Linear B-Texte", *Živa Antika* 25, 1975, pp. 388 ff., 398.

well as those of other Ionian colonists also occur among the Linear B-names from Pylos.[18]

As regards the second colonization, an observation by B. Hallager is important. Pointing to the Italian parallels for an imported vessel from Late Mycenaean Lefkandi on Euboea, she stated: "Most probably the contact (in form of trade) between Euboea and southern Italy was already established in Mycenaean times and this could be a good reason for the Euboean colonists of the 8th century to go to a country they already knew something about."[19]

Perhaps the break in communications during the Dark Age was not as complete as is generally supposed. W. Taylour has suggested that the contacts with the Gulf of Taranto, which were obviously very intensive through the Late Bronze Age, lasted more or less until the Greek colonists of the second wave came.[20] And he stressed that it is an interesting fact emerging from the review of Mycenaean contacts or settlements in the Western Mediterranean that "they coincide very closely with the later sites of Greek colonization".

In some cases the memory of Mycenaean contacts may have been matched by corresponding traditions at the places overseas. Thus Diodorus[21] mentions that the Knidians who colonized Lipari in 580 B.C. found inhabitants on this island who claimed to be descendants of Aeolus. Though this is an example which is late for our purpose, it nevertheless is symptomatic. It lends credence to our suggestion that Greek merchants and colonists drew on their own Mycenaean past, which in this way was revitalized.

The same may be true also of the Glaucus-Diomedes and Bellerophon episodes in the Iliad. These stories have been assigned to different periods: some scholars take them as reminiscences of the Late Bronze Age when Mycenaeans came in contact with Western Anatolian people,[22] others however regard them as belonging exclusively to Homer's own age.[23] Both may be right to some extent. Late Bronze Age finds of Mycenaean pottery in Lycia testify that it was a part of the Mycenaean sphere of influence in Western Asia Minor;[24] thus the legend of Glaucus and Diomedes, and also that of Bellerophon, are in their proper context if taken as reflections of a Mycenaean tradition. The reality, which they obviously have in the Homeric poems, most likely emerges from the parallel situation which was brought about by the Ionian migration.

And though it is not possible to prove continuity in towns like Miletus or Emporio on Chios, which are the best explored and where the archaeological evidence is in favour of a temporary break, it cannot be denied that the Ionian colonization concentrated on places which had already been settled in Late Helladic times.[25] Thus the meeting of Glaucus and Diomedes, who renew the hospitable encounters of their ancestors, also represents to some extent the renewed contact of a more recent period.

Of which period? We cannot answer this question with any certainty. All we can say is that "Ionic settlement . . . should go back at least to about 1000 B.C., and perhaps still earlier at Miletus".[26] But since Thucydides[27] closely associates the Ionian migration with the second wave of colonization, later movements may have joined the earlier emigrants. Like those who had resettled Mycenaean places and according to Herodotus[28] traced back their pedigree to Glaucus and the Lycians, later arrivals also accepted this tradition and claimed it for themselves. Thus the history of the Ionian migration is also one of a continued confrontation with the heroic past. The early date at which this shift of population began also supports the thesis that the folk-memory of the heroic past had an unbroken continuity, the roots of which go far back into the pre-Homeric period.

It has often been pointed out that Homer's evident favouring of the Aeneads and the Glaucids rests on

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[18] T. B. L. Webster, *Von Mykene bis Homer*, München - Wien 1960, p. 202; H. Mühlestein, "Namen von Neleiden auf den Pylostäfelchen", *MusHelv* 22, 1965, pp. 155 ff.; S. Szadecky-Kardass, "La colonisation grecque de l'Asie Mineure et les tablettes de Pylos", *Acta Antiqua Acad. Scient. Hung.* 9, 1961, pp. 26 ff.

[19] B. Hallager, "A new social class in Late Bronze Age Crete. Foreign Traders in Chania". Paper read at the *Cambridge Colloquium on Minoan Society*, 1981. I have to thank Mrs. B. Hallager for granting me a copy of her manuscript. The vase she refers to was published by L. H. Sackett and E. Milburn, "The Late Helladic IIIC Pottery of Xeropolis (Lefkandi)", *BSA* 66, 1971, p. 338, n. 8 and Fig. 3,7.

[20] W. D. Taylour, *Mycenean Pottery in Italy*, Cambridge 1958, p. 185.

[21] Diod. V.9. — Cf. Webster (supra n. 17), p. 21.

[22] F. Schachermeyr, *Poseidon und die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens*, Salzburg 1950, pp. 175 ff.; R. Peppermüller, "Die Diomedes-Glaukos-Szene in der Ilias", *WS* 75, 1962, pp. 5 ff.; Webster (supra n. 18), pp. 40, 56, 157; F. J. Tritsch, "Tiryntha Semata", *Kadmos* 7, 1968, pp. 124 ff.; idem, "Bellerophon's Letter", in: *Atti e Memorie del I° Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia* III, Rome 1968, pp. 1223 ff.; L. V. Aravantinos, "Osservazioni sulla lettera di Proitos", *SMEA* 17, 1976, pp. 117 ff.

[23] L. Malten, "Homer und die lykischen Fürsten", *Hermes* 79, 1964, pp. 1 ff.; Heubeck (supra n. 13), pp. 102 f. Cf. also W. Burkert in this volume.

[24] On Mycenaean finds in Asia Minor, cf. supra n. 17; E. Blumenthal, *Die altgriechische Siedlungskolonisation im Mittelmeerraum unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Südküste Kleinasiens*, Tübingen 1963, pp. 33 ff., 45 ff.; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jh. v. Chr.*, Darmstadt 1979, pp. 150 ff.; C. Mee, "Aegean Trade and Settlement in Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.", *AnatSt* 28, 1978, pp. 121 f.

[25] On Emporio, see J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio. Excavations in Chios 1952—1955* (*BSA* Suppl. Vol. 6), London 1967 (Introduction). For Miletus, cf. V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors*, Oxford 1964, pp. 162 f.

[26] Snodgrass (supra n. 1), p. 373, who cites J. M. Cook, *CAH* II, Chapter 38 (Fasc. 7), pp. 13 resp. 15.

[27] Thuc. I,12.4; cf. Snodgrass (supra n. 1), p. 373.

[28] Hdt. I,147.

close personal relations between Homer and the ruling families in the Troad and, maybe, at Miletus or some other town in Lycia.[29] Homer, who was their guest, felt obliged or inclined to praise these families. There is, I think, no serious objection to this assumption. The decisive point however is, how Homer fulfilled this task: he did so by citing the Bronze Age ancestors of his Ionian hosts. Was this Homer's invention? Hardly. He only repeated what had been a traditional claim.

This brings us to the question, what idea Homer and his contemporaries had about the Mycenaean Age. Some scholars assert that epic poetry grows only on ruins. According to their opinion, the song of the Trojan War was inspired by the remains of a prehistoric town which the Greeks called Troy, when they resettled a place, about which nothing was known to them. For supporters of such a thesis there is no need for historical traditions and awareness.[30]

The first objection which occurs is that at least the names of Bronze Age sites like Mycenae or Tiryns are associated with the proper places and certainly are not later inventions. There is surely no room for doubt that the legends connected with these places have a Bronze Age background.[31] Though we cannot know whether Homer had ever seen these mainland ruins, there is some possibility that he had seen those of Troy. And he knew that like Troy the Mycenaean citadels had also fallen into ruins: there is not only the *ex eventu* prophecy of an "ἦμαρ ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' Ἴλιος ἴρη ὀλώλη",[32] there is also good evidence in the Iliad that the destruction of the most important Mycenaean centres followed that of Troy: Hera promises her husband that he may destroy Argos, Sparta and Mycenae after he has agreed to the destruction of Troy.[33]

As Herodotus and Thucydides bear witness, the fall of Troy was a historical event, at least in the eyes of the Classical Greeks.[34] Indeed, later estimates of the destruction dates of Troy differ considerably; nevertheless, they cannot be judged as pure phantasy since almost all of them lay within the range of the Late Bronze Age;[35] this shows that there was some idea about the date of these events which was based on tradition. Also Homer, who ranks himself among the later people, in all likelihood had at least a vague chronological conception within these limits.

It was B. Snell who, in his contribution on "*Die Entstehung des historischen Bewußtseins*", stated that, particularly in the *Iliad*, the elements which lead to true history are conspicuous.[36] He also noted the significance of historical monuments as proofs of a great past standing behind them and he further pointed out the importance of an aristocracy which based its traditions on the fact that its kings and knights had Trojan heroes for ancestors. But he doubted whether there was any unbroken consciousness continuing between the age of the heroes and Homer's own time.[37]

To this view it may be objected that not only do the traditional pedigrees of noble families and the claim to go back to the time of the Mycenaean heroes argue against it;[38] above all it must be remembered that the first reliable historical date in Greek history, namely the year of the first Olympic games in 776, still falls within the first quarter of the eighth century.[39] It presupposes an awareness of time continuity not only in regard to the actual date and the future, but also the past. Thus there is evidence of a historical consciousness at the latest by the beginning of the eighth century.

It is particularly noteworthy that this earliest date in Greek history does not refer to a historical event like a battle or war or something of this kind, which is usually regarded as history, but that it is the celebration of funeral games which is reported. Moreover, these funeral games were not celebrated in honour of a contemporary nobleman who had died, but for a legendary person belonging to the heroic age. Nevertheless he was regarded as a historical person and honoured as such.

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[29] On literature, cf. supra n. 23 and L. Malten, "Aineas", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 29, 1931, pp. 33 ff.; Lesky (supra n. 13), pp. 5 f.

[30] Heubeck (supra n. 13), pp. 164 f.; E. Meyer, "Gab es ein Troja?", *Grazer Beiträge* 4, 1975, pp. 154—169.

[31] This was shown by M. P. Nilsson in his basic work *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, Berkeley 1932.

[32] *Il.* IV, 164 f.

[33] *Il*, IV,51 ff.; Cf. A. Heubeck, *SMEA* 20, 1979, p. 249; H. Strasburger, *Homer und die Geschichtsschreibung* (Sitzungsber. Akad. Heidelberg, Phil.-Hist. Kl.) 1972, p. 27.

[34] Hdt. II,145; VII,20 f.; Thuc. I,12.3. — Cf. Strasburger (supra n. 33), pp. 13 f.; J. W. Neville, "Herodotus on the Trojan War", *Greece and Rome* 24, 1977, pp. 3—12; G. Huxley, "Thucydides and the Date of the Trojan War", *ParPass* 54, 1957, pp. 209 ff.; Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp. 5 ff.

[35] On the dates given by Classical Greek historians, cf. J. Forsdyke, *Greece Before Homer*, New York 1964, pp. 28 ff.; D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, Berkeley 1959, pp. 95 f., n. 159.

[36] B. Snell, "Die Entstehung des geschichtlichen Bewußtseins", in: *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*, Hamburg 1955³, pp. 206 f.

[37] Snell (supra n. 36), p. 207, where it is stated that "(dem epischen Sänger) das Bewußtsein fehlt, daß eine kontinuierliche Zeit, in der sich allmählich der Wandel von den alten heroischen Zuständen zur Gegenwart vollzogen hat, das Damals mit dem Heute verbindet." Cf. also Schadewaldt (supra n. 13), p. 91.

[38] A critical review is given by Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp. 10—13, who argues against the reliability of these lists and especially the Lakonian ones before the 10th century B.C. — Likewise Bengtson (supra n. 12), p. 70, accepts that "die Aufzeichnungen der spartanischen Königsreihe für das 9. Jh. auf guter mündlicher Tradition beruhen mag." — Even if there is no historical reliability before that time, this cannot refute a consciousness of continuity reaching further back. This is also expressed by the tendency to trace these genealogies back into the heroic past.

[39] For a discussion of the reliability of this date, cf. Bengtson (supra n. 12), p. 70; H.-V. Herrmann, *Olympia. Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte*, München 1972, pp. 13, 216 n. 14 f.; cf. also pp. 78 f.

It is not possible to establish a Mycenaean origin for this custom and it is likewise difficult to demonstrate that a sanctuary existed in the Altis during the Late Mycenaean period, nor do we have clear evidence for continuity.[40] But this is not the problem to be discussed here. What remains most remarkable in this connection is that it obviously was once more the recollection of and the confrontation with the Mycenaean past which led to a greater awareness of history. And this happened, as far as we can judge, some time before the spread of the Homeric poems. At least it is unlikely for chronological reasons that the Homeric funeral of Patroclus was the model for the funeral which, since 776, had been remembered as being held for Pelops.

The Olympic games for Pelops may have acted as a catalyst for the spread of hero-cults which is well documented from different parts of what had been Mycenaean Greece after the middle of the eighth century.[41] At that time we find offerings to anonymous persons as well as to legendary ones at Mycenaean graves. From this fact we may conclude that there was some idea as to which epoch these monuments went back, though we cannot exclude the possibility that prehistoric tombs from other periods were also regarded in the same way.

It has been observed that "very occasionally later burials had been lodged in Mycenaean tombs; but all these belong to the Dark Ages, and only serve to show how little respect was paid to the old tombs before the diffusion of the Homeric epic".[42] Since hero-cults at Mycenaean tombs begin more or less at the same time only after 750, it is sound to conclude that they also were inspired by the spread of the Homeric poems across the Greek mainland.

On the other hand we have at least two examples where the veneration of heroes goes back to earlier times: Academus, the legendary founder of Athens, seems to have already been honoured by the beginning of the ninth century, since a copious deposit of Early Geometric kantharoi was found not far from his Late Geometric cult place; there is hardly another explanation for it than that it was intended for Academus and indicates that his cult already existed in the ninth century.[43] Odysseus, who had a shrine in the Polis cave on Ithaca, must have received a cult at the latest by 800 B.C., to judge from the bronze tripods which were found there.[44] "Thus", as N. Coldstream has argued, "both heroes were probably worshipped long before the circulation of the Homeric epic; indeed, their worship may well embody a continuous memory about them through the Dark Ages . . ."

Two things may be learned from these observations: firstly that besides epic poetry there existed an independent oral tradition, and secondly that outside Ionia also a memory about the heroic age lived on and that quite independently of Homer there was an interest in these traditions. Homer's contribution to this interest may hardly be over-rated and will in no way be diminished by these considerations. Apart from the sudden spread of hero-cults at Mycenaean graves during the second half of the eighth century, his impact can clearly be demonstrated in other fields too.

They have often been enumerated and it may be enough to repeat them very sketchily here; first of all we see a strong tendency to repeat a heroic style of life in the late eighth century.[45] It is characteristic that, e.g., in the Lelantine war, which was fought at about 700 B.C.[46] between Chalkis and Eretria, both sides agreed to fight the case in a knightly way and to renounce long-range weapons; Archilochus, who may have taken part himself in this war, reports in this sense.[47]

When King Amphidamas of Chalkis was killed, his sons performed splendid funeral games for him and called on the Greeks to take part in them.[48] Corresponding evidence somes from the excavations at the Eretrian West Gate, where warrior cremations showing the influence of Homeric rites were found.[49] A further impressive picture of such 'heroic' burials has emerged from Late Geometric and seventh-century tombs at Salamis on Cyprus.[50]

Since our archaeological knowledge of the late eighth century depends to a great degree on burial finds, it is more difficult to see how everyday life was influenced by heroic patterns. A general enthusiasm for a heroic way of life is reflected in art, particularly in vase-painting, where scenes of fighting on land and seashore, as well as processions of men marching and

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[40] Herrmann (supra n. 39), pp. 55 ff., who argues—rightly in my opinion—in favour of a Mycenaean sanctuary; for the opposite view, cf. Snodgrass (supra n. 1), p. 397.

[41] Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp. 129 ff., 397 ff., 422 f.; Coldstream (supra n. 4), pp. 346 ff.

[42] Coldstream (supra n. 4), p. 346.

[43] Snodgrass (supra n. 1), p. 398; Coldstream (supra n. 4), p. 347.

[44] Coldstream (supra n. 4), p. 247.

[45] Cf. Heubeck (supra n. 13), p. 225: "Durch Homer gewinnt die von ihm beschworene ritterliche Welt der Sagenzeit für die Adelsgesellschaft seiner Epoche 'normierenden Wert'." On the aristocratic aspect of Homer's world, cf. also Snell (supra n. 36), p. 212: "Zunächst ist die Adelsfamilie das einzige soziale Gefüge. . . Eine merkwürdige Wechselwirkung zwischen Dichtung und Leben setzt nun dadurch ein, daß die alten mythischen Zustände unwillkürlich nach den gegenwärtigen Verhältnissen gedeutet werden, daß umgekehrt aber auch das Bewußtsein von den eigenen Verhältnissen sich bildet an dem in der Dichtung dargestellten." Schadewaldt (supra n. 13), p. 124: "Mykene ist also für Homer nicht so sehr die reale Größe des 14. Jahrhunderts, sondern vor allem die ideale Größe des 8. Jahrhunderts. . ." — Cf. also Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp. 429 ff.

[46] On the date of the Lelantine war, cf. Popham and Sackett (supra n. 6), p. 369; Coldstream (supra n. 4), p. 200.

[47] Schadewaldt (supra n. 13), pp. 110 f.

[48] Schadewaldt (supra n. 13), p. 110.

[49] Coldstream (supra n. 4), pp. 196 f., 350; cf. also P. G. Themelis in *Lefkandi* I (supra n. 6), p. 214.

[50] Coldstream (supra n. 4), pp. 349 f.

in chariots, show a general heroic flavour. Here the spheres of a heroic past and eighth-century daily life become inseparably intermingled.[51]

As we have already argued, this phenomenon, which especially characterizes the late eighth century, marks merely the peak period of a development, the roots of which reach much further back. Here again we may look for causes outside of and prior to Homeric poetry.

Competing with a heroic model and aspiring to a heroic lifestyle depends not only on an attitude of mind, but also involves material and social considerations. Since our knowledge of society of the eighth century and the preceding epoch is desperately meagre, being drawn from the Homeric poems themselves to a great degree, we may confine ourselves here to the question of material prosperity. The decline of material resources may have been one of the primary causes for the collapse of Mycenaean society.[52] Luxury goods, like vessels of precious metals, ivory products and jewellery, are extremely rare or wholly absent during the late eleventh and the tenth centuries. But ivory, faience and amber make their reappearance about 900 B.C.[53] And it is certainly not merely chance that precious materials, some of them imported, reappear at the same time as oversea contacts start again. The famous Early Geometric grave of a rich young Athenian lady from the Agora shows this very impressively: it contained among other burial gifts a necklace composed of numerous faience and other beads, which are likely to be of Levantine origin; further it comprised "ivory stamp seals, an ivory plaque and a whole range of gold jewellery, which, although said to be of local workmanship, must be made from freshly imported metal".[54] Likewise the very beginning of the ninth century "sees the Lefkandians placing in their tombs gold rings, necklaces of both faience and glass, and a bronze bowl. The gold, if of uncertain origin, at least shows wealth, while there is no doubt about the Near Eastern origin of the necklaces. . . The bronze bowl could well have come from the same region. . ."[55]

We do not know what were the main reasons for these unusually rich gifts. But in any case, before they were put into the grave they had to be acquired. And as the renewed oversea links rediscovered and opened up the whole ancient geographical range of the heroes' physical world, the growth of wealth in the hands of some noble families may be interpreted as a new basis for their achievement of a life style modelled on heroic tradition. Rich burial gifts are not so much a mere display of wealth as rather a claim for social status beyond the grave. The least we can say is that the splendour of the rich Agora grave would not contradict the assumption that these also served as an expression of heroic manners.

Here we come back to our initial question: how can we relate growing wealth and the revival of the Mycenaean past? If our considerations carry weight, Homer and his poems cannot have been the first step in this development. The rediscovery of the Mycenaean past, though it culiminated in the second half of the eighth century, had not been reborn with Homer nor did it come overnight. It had a long prehistory of its own. During the dark years of decline, depression and isolation, the world of the heroes must have seemed to have vanished forever. The more, however, the Mediterranean world was opened up again and the more prosperity grew, the more vividly the heroic past revived. Its revival actually kept pace with the increasing material base for putting its model into execution and so making identification with that heroic past possible.

Homer himself is no exception. It has long been realized and often repeated that Homer drew his own portrait in Phemius and Demodocus. Like the bards who sang at the courts of the kings of Ithaca and Scheria, he recited in the halls of the nobles contemporary with him. But this does not mean that he invented his Mycenaean colleagues. Since we have good evidence for Mycenaean bards outside the Homeric poems, there is no reason why Phemius and Demodocus should not belong to the oral tradition. Homer as a singer identified himself with his heroic predecessors.[56]

Finally it was an unbroken tradition which functioned as a spur and a challenge for a new age which, when confronting its past, felt or attempted to be its equal. It was the tension of an unbroken tradition relating a great past to a present competing with it which stimulated and made productive the spirit of an epoch. But like all other Renaissances this one also was by no means a mere repetition of its model. Something quite new was created. This, however, is not my theme on the present occasion.

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[51] Schadewaldt (supra n. 13), pp. 115 ff.; Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp. 429 ff.

[52] This view has been expressed by S. Iakovides, *History of the Hellenic World, Prehistory and Protohistory*, Athens 1970, p. 298; idem, "A Hundred Years of Mycenaean Archaeology", *AntJ* 58, 1978, p. 27.

[53] Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp. 247 f., 262 f., 264 f., 333 (from where comes also the passage cited above).

[54] Snodgrass (supra n. 1), p. 333; Coldstream (supra n. 4), pp. 55 f., and also E. Simon and R. Hampe, *Tausend Jahre Frühgriechische Kunst*, München 1980, p. 198, Figs. 320, 321.

[55] Popham and Sackett (supra n. 6), p. 363. — Cf. also the bronze bowl from Kerameikos, Grave 42: Coldstream (supra n. 4), pp. 59 f.; Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp. 115 f., 263, 333.

[56] Cf. Webster (supra n. 18), pp. 172 f.; Lesky (supra n. 1), p. 8; Schadewaldt (supra n. 13), pp. 66 ff.; W. Marg, *Homer über die Dichtung*, Münster 1957, pp. 13 ff., 20; idem, "Das erste Lied des Demodokos", in: *Navicula Chiloniensis, Festschrift F. Jacoby*, Leiden 1956, pp. 27 f.

Discussion

W. Burkert: There is a difficulty with the colonization aspect of your theory. Geographical names are imprecise and changeable. 'Sicily' and 'Thebes' are good examples of such vagueness. How do you identify a country about which you have heard by vague memory only? Egyptian 'Thebes' is not an Egyptian name. *Sikelia* will hardly have had this name in the Bronze Age.

Regarding the Homeric past, let it be said that the Troas was a place where Greeks met Phrygia in the 8th century. Perhaps the Trojan War became relevant because of a contemporary friction with the East.

S. Hiller: I agree, but I think that identification with the heroic past could only occur where there was a possibility of identification. The Trojan War did take place but became an actuality when Phrygia was rediscovered.

B. Bergquist: I just want to raise the old methodological question of cause and effect. Quite without any influence from tradition, people in the 8th century may have colonized in the east and west for just the same reasons as the Mycenaeans had previously done it; also, there is no need of a tradition for people to mark their wealth and status in society through rich burial gifts; it may just as well be a spontaneous phenomenon.

The Meaning of the Regional Styles in the Eighth Century B.C.

by
J.N. Coldstream

I present for discussion a broad historical problem arising out of my main field of research. Briefly, the problem is: why, in the renascent Greek world of the late eighth century, did so many styles of fine painted pottery flourish in different regions at the same time? Specialists in the contemporary metalwork, especially the bronzes, may be able to argue for a diversity of regional schools[1] that is no less striking; but in this context I confine myself to the pots for two reasons. First, a far higher proportion of pots than of bronzes was found in the various homelands, thereby providing surer evidence for the delimitation of local styles. Secondly, I myself am much more at home with the pots.

It might, of course, be thought that regional variation in Greece needs no historical explanation, being the natural result of the obvious geographical barriers. So I must begin by demonstrating the strangeness of the situation in the late eighth century, a situation which cannot be explained by geography alone.

If we look back into the Bronze Age, we find several periods when widely different styles of pottery had prevailed in different parts of the Aegean; but on the whole these were periods of poverty and isolation, sometimes also of chaos and disruption. Conversely, in more settled and prosperous times, ceramic ideas may spread over a wide area, transcending the barriers of mountain and sea. Thus an 'international spirit' has been claimed for as remote a period as the Early Bronze II phase,[2] when the potters of the Cyclades shared many notions with the mainland, and many others with Crete. Then, at the climax of the Cretan palatial civilization during the first century of the Late Bronze Age, much of the Aegean world conformed to a Minoan-inspired *koine*, at least in the decoration of fine pottery. Even more extensive was the Mycenaean *koine* of the late fourteenth and early thirteenth centuries. Without presuming to base any political deductions on the wide diffusion of a single pottery style, the least one can claim is a general willingness among potters to transcend geographical barriers when life was stable, and when communications were good.

How utterly different was the world of Early Bronze III,[3] a period of invasions, destructions, and general insecurity, and a consequent rupture of communications which finds its reflection in the local pottery styles, some of which bear no resemblance at all even to those in neighbouring areas.[4] On the mainland this regional diversity continues through most of the Middle Bronze Age in a general atmosphere of poverty and parochial isolation. And, finally, after the unifying effects of the Cretan and mainland palace civilizations, the Mycenaean *koine* breaks up and gives place to a number of regional IIIC styles.[5] Then, once again, we are in a dangerous and insecure world full of conflict and destruction, when free communications were breaking down, and when each region was largely left to its own devices.

When seen against the background of the Bronze Age, the extreme diversity of the late eighth century seems to go against the general rule. From the wide

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In addition to the customary abbreviations, the following are also used:
GG = J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977.
GGP = J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968.

[1] H.-V. Herrmann, "Werkstätten geometrischer Bronzeplastik", *JdI* 79, 1964, pp. 17—71; W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Olympische Forschungen* XII, Berlin 1979, pp. 54—179 (bronze animal figurines).

[2] A. C. Renfrew, "Cycladic metallurgy in the Aegean Early Bronze Age", *AJA* 71, 1967, pp. 1—18, esp. pp. 15—18.

[3] J. L. Caskey, "The Early Helladic period in the Argolid", *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 285—303; R. L. N. Barber and J. L. MacGillivray, "The Early Cycladic period: matters of definition and terminology", *AJA* 84, 1980, pp. 141—157, esp. 154—157.

[4] For the extent of local Early Bronze III styles see the map by D. H. French in: *Bronze Age migrations in the Aegean: Proc. of the 1st Int. Congr. in Aegean prehistory*, ed. by R. A. Crossland and Ann Birchall, London 1973, p. 55, Fig. 7,1.

[5] V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The last Mycenaeans and their successors*, Oxford 1964, pp. 4—48. Cf. also E. S. Sherratt, "Regional variations in the pottery of LH IIIB", *BSA* 75, 1980, pp. 175—202.

and copious export of pottery, and from the manifold sources of votives offered at the rising Panhellenic sanctuaries, it would seem that communications by land and sea were then better than at any time since the Mycenaean *koine*; and yet the sheer number of regional pottery styles is greater than in the darkest, the most dangerous, the most chaotic periods of the Bronze Age, when communications were at their worst. Such is the paradox for which we must look for a convincing historical explanation.

The first step in our enquiry is to consider whether any clue to this paradox can be found in the Dark Age. Local styles continued to proliferate in the eleventh century,[6] but during the tenth we witness a distinct movement back towards a *koine*. This movement was caused by the propagation of the Attic Late Protogeometric style, which we know to have been exported to most of the regions which it influenced:[7] a tribute to the Attic prototypes, and also a symptom of reviving communications. So far, then, there has been no deviation from the Bronze Age rule. But by the early ninth century this limited *koine* has vanished. Attic Early Geometric is almost entirely ignored, except by its immediate neighbours. Meanwhile every other region, each in its own way, evolves a Subprotogeometric style deriving from the local Protogeometric.[8] It would seem that most areas experienced a worsening of communications, a relapse, a return to isolation. But this cannot be true of the source of the pendent-semicircle style; for this style was diffused over a wide area, extending northwards as far as Thessaly and even into Macedonia, inland as far as Delphi, and overseas to Skyros and the northern Cyclades. Long before the excavation of Lefkandi it has been suspected that the pendent-semicircle style had radiated outwards from Euboea. And now the Lefkandi finds confirm that Euboea, far from being isolated at this time, was already trading steadily with the Near East;[9] and that eastern trade route, in itself, might explain the diffusion of the pendent-semicircle style to the northern Cyclades. Thus the general impression of the early ninth-century styles is one of extreme parochialism except in the western Aegean, where we see a polarization between two centres, Athens and Lefkandi.

But from 850 onwards the pendulum begins to swing back again towards another *koine*.[10] Gradually the Attic Middle Geometric style becomes a common idiom for most of the Greek world. There are exceptions and reservations to be made: we see little trace of the Attic style in Asiatic Ionia, and none in the outlying parts of Crete, or in Laconia, or in western Greece outside the Aegean. In the Dodecanese the influence of this *koine* is late and superficial; elsewhere there are many conservative survivals of the pendent-semicircle style, which the Euboeans are especially reluctant to give up.[11] But by the beginning of the eighth century, after the foundation of Eretria, even Euboean pottery is largely Atticizing. This is also the time of greatest uniformity, especially in the standard shapes of vessel. Most widespread, for example, is the Attic way of decorating an oinochoe: dark ground, with a reserved panel of meander or zigzag on the neck, sets of reserved lines on the body, and sometimes further reserved panels on the shoulder.[12] On a larger and more luxurious scale, the Attic pedestalled krater is reproduced in many different areas, again decorated in the Attic dark-ground way with a large central meander panel surrounded by strips of ancillary ornament.[13]

As with the limited Protogeometric *koine*, this style must have been propagated not only through exports, but also through the respect paid to it wherever the exports travelled. For although the export of Attic pottery now reaches its highest point before the sixth century, the volume and diffusion of Euboean exports is no less remarkable;[14] and yet the Euboeans themselves gradually went over to the Attic manner. Nevertheless this Middle Geometric *koine* was destined to be the last in the history of ancient Greek pottery, and we must ask ourselves why this should be so. For all through the eighth century communications continued to improve, through trade as manifested in exports, through the westward movement of colonists, and through a rapidly increasing number of visitors from many different regions to the Panhellenic sanctuaries of the Greek homeland. And yet, in the second half of the eighth century, we see a sudden movement away from uniformity, towards the emergence of at least eleven distinct local styles (see Map, *Fig. 1*). In earlier times a style may spread through trade and good communications; but now the effect of even better communications is being cancelled out by some strong centrifugal force, causing a greater local diversity than had ever been seen before.

Can we hope to identify this centrifugal force? In the introduction to my first book I suggested that it might be 'the growth and consolidation of autonomous city-states, each with a self-conscious pride in its own traditions'.[15] To argue from pots to politics is

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[6] Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages*, London 1972, pp. 29—129.

[7] Desborough (supra n. 6), pp. 133—257.

[8] *GGP*, pp. 341—343; *GG*, pp. 25—54.

[9] M. R. Popham and L. H. Sackett, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, pp. 356—366.

[10] *GGP*, pp. 344—357; *GG*, pp. 55—106.

[11] Desborough in *Lefkandi* I, pp. 292—293 (SPG III).

[12] E.g. *GGP*, Pl. 5*a* (Attic), Pl. 18*b* (Corinthian), Pl. 24*f* (Argive), Pl. 34*j* (Cycladic), Pl. 60*b* (Rhodian).

[13] E.g. *GGP*, Pl. 5*f* (Attic), Pl. 17*f* (Corinthian), Pl. 60*e* (Rhodian).

[14] For Attic and Euboean exports to the Near East at this time see *GG*, pp. 92—95, Fig. 29.

[15] *GGP*, p. 2.

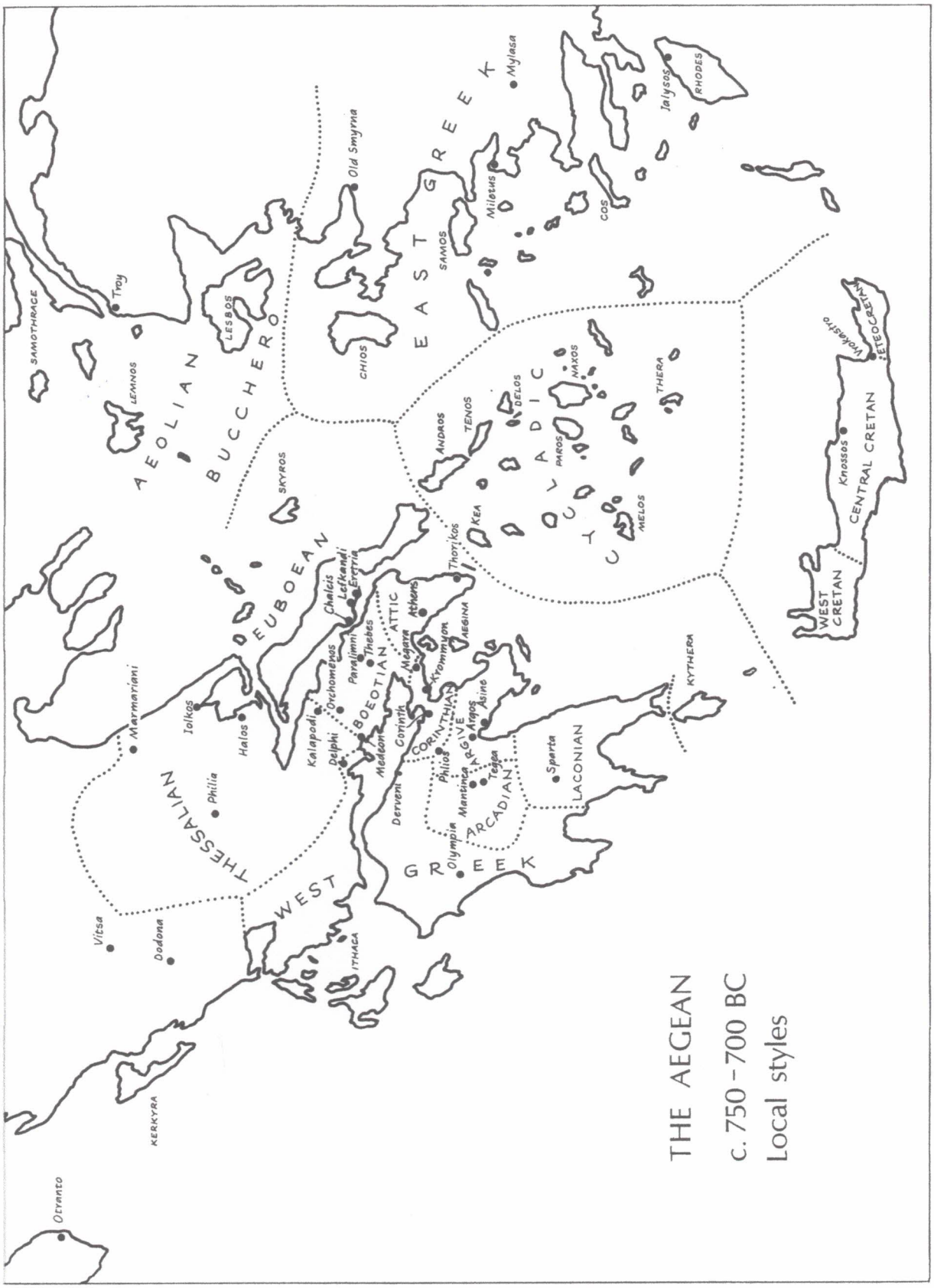
THE AEGEAN
c. 750 - 700 BC
Local styles
AEOLIAN
BUCCHERO
EAST GREEK
CYCLADIC
EUBOEAN
THESSALIAN
WEST GREEK
ATTIC
BOEOTIAN
CORINTHIAN
ARGIVE
ARCADIAN
LACONIAN
CENTRAL CRETAN
WEST CRETAN
ETEOCRETAN
SAMOTHRACE
Troy
LEMNOS
LESBOS
Old Smyrna
CHIOS
SAMOS
Miletus
Mylasa
COS
Jalysos
RHODES
SKYROS
ANDROS
TENOS
DELOS
NAXOS
PAROS
THERA
KEA
MELOS
Thorikos
Chalcis
Lefkandi
Eretria
Athens
AEGINA
Paralimni
Thebes
Megara
Krommyon
Orchomenos
Kalapodi
Delphi
Medeon
Corinth
Asine
Argos
Philios
Mantinea
Tegea
Derveni
Olympia
Sparta
KYTHERA
Marmariani
Iolkos
Halos
Philia
Vitsa
Dodona
ITHACA
KERKYRA
Otranto
Vrokastro
Knossos

Fig. 1.

always hazardous; but I now feel encouraged to re-examine this proposition in the light of a current enquiry carried forward by historically-minded archaeologists and archaeologically-minded historians: scholars who are searching for other archaeological symptoms of the emergent *polis*—the building of urban temples,[16] for example, or of town fortifications.[17] But if any similar argument is to be based on the proliferation of pottery styles, it must be conceded (as we shall see) that several of them evolved in regions which never settled down to life in autonomous city-states, even in Classical times. And so, rather than making unwise generalizations at this point, let us briefly look at the character and quality of each style in turn, asking various questions. How creative were the potters of each region, and how much did they owe to neighbouring styles? And how much unity does each style display within its region? Does it radiate from a single centre? Are there rustic variations in the remoter parts of the region? And what happens at the frontier between two regions? Do we pass abruptly from one style to the next, or is there evidence of a hybrid manner in between? Patchy though our information may be concerning these frontier sites, it is worth gathering what we know and drawing attention to areas of ignorance; for these sites are very relevant for our enquiry.

Of all the Late Geometric styles, Attic remains by far the most original and the most creative. Attic potters were now responding to a purely local demand for large funerary vases decorated with funerary and battle scenes; thus arose the first consistent figured style in Hellenic art, already fully developed on the Dipylon grave markers, and later scaled down for the LG II funerary amphorae. Figured drawing may help us to discern individual hands and workshops, but a distinct Attic character pervades them all, and indeed the whole Attic output. Some of the leading Attic workshops, especially in LG II, sent much of their best work to various parts of the Attic countryside: for example, the namepiece of the Stathatou painter was found with a gold band in an aristocratic grave near Koropi.[18] Future research may be able to locate some workshops—even those producing figured work—in country districts rather than in Athens; thus a piece of a grave krater from Thorikos[19] is by a hand as yet unknown among finds from Athens. But nevertheless this krater conforms to the same Attic character, and probably met the same need as the grave markers of Athens.

That Attic is no longer the centre of a *koine* can be explained partly by the lack of interest elsewhere in a specifically funerary figured style, and partly by the much smaller proportion of Attic exports in relation to the early eighth century: Attic exports in quantity are now found only in Aigina,[20] an island said to be lacking in clay suitable for fine painted pottery.[21] Nevertheless four other regions are still borrowing some Attic ideas, especially in the early part of Late Geometric: these are Euboea, Boeotia, Thessaly, and the Cyclades.

The Euboean style has a special importance in view of its own copious exports, second only to Corinthian in volume, and second to none in their wide distribution. Euboean figured work is plentiful, Atticizing in style, but very different in its iconography. There are no funeral scenes, and not even any exclusively funerary pottery shapes; the favourite themes illustrate the feeding of the horse, whether at the manger or in the field.[22] But Euboean linear decoration, as seen for example in the skyphos series,[23] moves steadily away from Attic models towards a local repertoire, and ends up with a wholly original use of added white ornament.[24] So far, the finds from Eretria, Lefkandi, and Chalcis are remarkably consistent in style and fabric. Whatever may have been the historical relationships between the three cities, warlike or otherwise, they were content to share a Euboean way of doing things; they may even have shared a single source of clay.[25]

Similar claims for originality and unity can hardly be made for Boeotia. The pottery there shows no overall Boeotian character. The most distinctive series is formed by the large funerary oinochoai[26] in unslipped brown clay which, together with other shapes in a similar style, represent the major work of a Theban school. Although the linear decoration is an eclectic hotchpotch of Attic, Euboean, and eventually Corinthian elements, this school offers a considerable variety of figured themes;[27] but that is not surprising, since Thebes and southern Boeotia are in this period the chief sources of the figured fibulae with square catchplates. In sharp contrast to this Theban school is

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[16] A. M. Snodgrass, *Archaeology and the rise of the Greek state*, Cambridge 1977, pp. 24—30; idem, *Archaic Greece, the age of experiment*, London 1980, pp. 33—34.

[17] Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971, pp. 415—416, but cf. (supra n. 16), pp. 21—24 and pp. 32—33 respectively; O. Murray, *Early Greece*, Brighton 1980, p. 65.

[18] J. Cook, *BSA* 46, 1951, pp. 45—49.

[19] J. Bingen in *Thorikos* III, Brussels 1965, p. 43, Fig. 49; G. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art*, Göteborg 1971, Fig. 30.

[20] *GGP*, p. 361, n. 10.

[21] W. Kraiker, *Aigina, die Vasen des 10. bis 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Berlin 1951, pp. 11—13.

[22] J. N. Coldstream, "Some peculiarities of the Euboean Geometric figured style", in: *Grecia, Italia e Sicilia nell' VIII—VII sec. A.C., Convegno internazionale . . . dalla Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 1979*, forthcoming in *ASAtene*.

[23] L. Kahil, "Une ronde sur un col d'amphore eubéen", in: *Studies in honour of A. D. Trendall*, ed. by A. Cambitoglou, Sydney 1979, pp. 97—101, Pl. 27.

[24] *GGP*, pp. 192—193; J. Boardman in *Lefkandi* I, pp. 62—66, Pls. 46—50.

[25] Boardman (supra n. 24), p. 76, last paragraph.

[26] *GGP*, pp. 201—202.

[27] *GGP*, pp. 205—208.

a class of high-footed amphorae and other related shapes, covered with a thick white slip, and decorated with an almost entirely different repertoire of motifs.[28] These are wholly of Euboean inspiration. If they are not all imports, which seems unlikely, they imply at least one other Boeotian school operating outside Thebes. Large vessels in this style have been found at Paralimni,[29] suggesting a location somewhere in northeast Boeotia, which would also be easily accessible to Euboean influence.

Just beyond the northern limit of Boeotia lies the sanctuary near Kalapodhi, which may prove to be an important frontier site. To judge from reports so far,[30] its ninth-century pottery lies well within the Euboean orbit, but in Late Geometric times its affiliations are less clear. And at present we hardly know what to expect beyond this frontier, since as we move northwards the next major find of Late Geometric pottery is from the pyres of Halos,[31] deep within the Pagasaean region of Thessaly. There, and in the Kapakli tholos of Iolkos,[32] we find a rather colourless Atticizing style, probably derived from Euboea around 750, but then soon losing contact with the south. In the same contexts, however, are the native Thessalian shapes, conservative survivals from a northern Bronze Age tradition: these are the high-handled kantharos, the trigger-handled cup, and the cutaway jug. Even in the late eighth century they often appear undecorated, or sometimes handmade like their prototypes from Marmariani.[33] Thessalian Late Geometric pottery is not yet plentiful enough to tell us much about the centres of production, or about regional variation; all we can say at present is that the Thessalian repertoire is still very heterogeneous, representing two quite different ceramic traditions side by side.

In the Cyclades the common Attic idiom is still present at the beginning of Late Geometric, especially in the drinking vessels.[34] Thereafter, in spite of the increasing volume of sea travel indicated by imports and exports within and outside the archipelago, the island styles nevertheless draw apart not only from Attic, but from each other too. Local invention seems weakest in the painted pottery of the northern islands. At Zagora on Andros, the proximity of Euboea and the high proportion of Euboean imports[35] may have had an inhibiting effect. On Tenos the potters' creative energies went mainly into making the coarse relief pithoi, with their wide repertoire of figured themes.[36] At the centre of the Cycladic circle, Naxos and Paros were the chief suppliers of the Delian sanctuary.[37] By the last quarter of the century their styles have acquired a distinct local character, exemplified by the slim amphorae of Naxos and the spare, airy motifs of Paros; one hopes that current excavations on both islands may help to clarify their interrelationships with one another, and also with the recently defined Euboean style. In the southern islands, a Melian workshop[38] improvises on Attic themes in a most individual way and specializes in unusual fenestrated stands. Meanwhile the potters of Thera,[39] with a wide range of imports before their eyes, deliberately chose to be conservative. On their cremation urns they perpetuate a mid-eighth-century repertoire well into the seventh, the only important additions being of East Greek origin—for example, the cross-hatched lozenge net.[40] Theran may thus rank as a hybrid style, near the frontier between two main regions.

On crossing this frontier into the East Greek world, we find ourselves beyond the reach of any abiding Attic influence. In the early stage of Late Geometric Samos offers a slight exception, best illustrated by the kantharoid krater combining Attic quatrefoils with the only known non-Attic prothesis scene of this generation.[41] Otherwise a consistent East Greek character pervades the whole of this large region, probably emanating from Rhodes and especially from the one particular Rhodian workshop whose pottery was most widely exported. This workshop of the Bird Kotylai,[42] ancestors of the seventh-century Bird Bowls, introduced a new repertoire of metopal motifs, quite independent of Attic, but destined to be ubiquitous throughout the East Greek world. Here is an unadventurous style, still dark-ground, devoid of figured drawing, but distinguished by its characteristic birds, its geometricized Trees of Life, and its preference for cross-hatching everything. To be sure, there is plenty of scope for local variation, especially on Cos, Samos and Chios, and probably also at Miletus and Smyrna.[43] Even so, the degree of overall uniformity is remarkable, and certainly greater than in the

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[28] A. Ruckert, *Frühe Keramik Böotiens*, Bern 1976, pp. 24—25 (Amphorengruppe C), 54—58, Pls. 12—14.

[29] E.g. *ArchRep* 1974, p. 19, Fig. 32.

[30] R. Felsch, *AA* 1980, pp. 47—54, Figs. 15—17 (ninth century), 18—21 (eighth century).

[31] A. J. B. Wace and M. Thompson, *BSA* 18, 1911—12, pp. 8—24; *GGP*, pp. 161—163.

[32] *GGP*, p. 161, Pl. 33*f,g*; the LG pottery from the Kapakli tholos is otherwise unpublished.

[33] W. A. Heurtley and T. C. Skeat, *BSA* 31, 1930—31, pp. 16—19, Figs. 5 and 6.

[34] E.g. *GGP*, Pl. 38*b,e*.

[35] A. Cambitoglou and J. R. Green, *Zagora* I, Sydney 1971, pp. 58—59.

[36] N. M. Kontoleon, "Die frühgriechische Reliefkunst", *Arch Eph* 1969, pp. 215—216; M. Ervin, "Notes on relief pithoi of the Tenian-Boiotian group", *AJA* 80, 1976, pp. 19—41.

[37] *GGP*, pp. 172, 174—181, Pls. 36*b-e*, 37, 38; *GG*, pp. 213—216, Fig. 69.

[38] *GGP*, pp. 181—185, Pl. 39.

[39] *GGP*, pp. 185—189.

[40] E.g. *GGP*, Pl. 40*a,b*; cf. Pl. 62*f* (Rhodian).

[41] H. Walter, *Samos* V, Bonn 1968, no. 150, Fig. 22; Ahlberg (supra n. 19), Fig. 51*a,b*.

[42] *GGP*, pp. 277—279, Pls. 61*a-d*.

[43] *GGP*, pp. 287—298, Pls. 63*b-g*, 64.

Cyclades, where it is much harder to define a Cycladic character. The outer limits of this style are of great historical interest, and should warn us against basing any ethnic assumptions on Geometric pottery. On Lesbos, and north of the river Hermos, Aeolian Greeks resisted this style, preferring their own incised grey bucchero made in the native Anatolian tradition.[44] Conversely, the non-Greek inhabitants of the Carian hinterland produced a respectable version of the East Greek style, deeply indebted to Rhodes.[45]

One exotic feature seems to link Rhodes with Crete: an interest in oriental unguent flasks,[46] especially the globular lekythos with a ridge on the neck. In fact, the connection is not direct. The two islands lie on alternative sea routes for Phoenician (or Cypro-Phoenician) westward commerce, each offering a forward station for the marketing of Phoenician unguents in locally made containers. In neither case did these oriental contacts modify the local Geometric style. On the contrary, the Rhodian lekythoi usually borrow the local Geometric ornament. The original Cypro-Phoenician decoration may appear on their Cretan counterparts, but is ignored by other Cretan shapes.

The main Cretan style radiates from the Knossos area and, like Theran, finds its fullest development on the cremation urns.[47] Here is another conservative dark-ground style, evolving from the local Middle Geometric almost without any external stimulus, building up its own local repertoire, and making much use of added white paint. Figured work is surprisingly scarce, given the adventurous oriental imagery on contemporary Cretan metalwork. Yet on the rare occasions when the potter tries to emulate the smith, the result can be bold and startling. Thus, on a cup recently found in the north cemetery of Knossos,[48] the figured metopes include lions with outlined frontal faces and outstretched paws, recalling the protome bosses of the Idaean shields.[49]

Although this Knossian style is spread consistently over most of Crete, it failed to reach either extremity. From Vrokastro eastward, an Eteocretan school[50] flourishes with wild curvilinear ornament, unaffected by central Crete since the ninth century. A Kydonian school in the far west creates an impression of even greater remoteness.[51] The isolation of both schools could be partly explained by their apparent exclusion from the Middle Geometric *koine*.

We come at last to the leading Peloponnesian schools, and their point of departure from the Atticizing *koine*. For the parting of the ways between Attic and Corinthian one asks not only when, but where. In a small plot of MG II graves at Crommyon, the modern Ay. Theodoroi,[52] the burial customs and almost all the pottery are Corinthian. From Megara, hardly known in this period, published Geometric pottery amounts to two Corinthian pots.[53] Yet from the Megarian harbour town of Minoa, part of a LG amphora in the Ashmolean Museum is Attic.[54] Obviously, far more excavation is needed to define the style frontier with any certainty; but on present evidence it appears to lie somewhere near Megara. And this frontier reveals no trace of any hybrid Attico-Corinthian manner; the pottery is either orthodox Attic or orthodox Corinthian. The same is true of the four vases so far illustrated from Crommyon grave 3, which also tell us something useful about Attico-Corinthian relations just before 750. The three Corinthian vessels[55] are still Middle Geometric, but only the amphora is still Atticizing. In the same context is an imported Attic oinochoe[56] with grazing horses, representing the nascent Attic LG I style which the Corinthians were no longer going to follow. In fact they almost entirely rejected figured drawing which, in contrast to Attic, was not needed at all in the local burial practices. In this grave group the true sign of things to come is the lightening of the tone with precisely drawn fine lines. This was to be an important feature of Corinthian pottery in the later eighth century,[57] a style remarkable for its superb fabric, its preference for small marketable shapes, its exquisite potting, and its simple but carefully placed linear ornament, enlivened by the occasional bird motif. By 700 no Greek site of any consequence is without its Corinthian imports. But other regional styles had now become too deeply entrenched to allow any movement back towards another *koine*: even so, they all succumbed in

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[44] *GG*, pp. 262—263.

[45] *GG*, pp. 258—260, Fig. 84*b,c*; C. Özgünel, *Carian Geometric Pottery*, Ankara 1979.

[46] Rhodes: *GGP*, pp. 275—277, Pl. 62*b*; *GG*, p. 249, Fig. 79*a—f*; Coldstream, "The Phoenicians of Ialysos", *BICS* 16, 1979, pp. 1—8, Pls. 1—3. Crete: *GGP*, pp. 242, 250, Pl. 55*c*; Coldstream, "Some Cypriot traits in Cretan pottery, *c.* 950—700 B.C.", in: *Acts of the Int. Arch. Symp., the relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000—500 B.C.*, Nicosia 1979, pp. 261—263, Pl. 46.

[47] E.g. *GGP*, Pl. 54*a,f*.

[48] Knossos KMF tomb 134.47: Coldstream, "A menagerie on a Late Geometric cup from Knossos", in: *Mélanges H. Metzger* (= *RA* 1982:1), pp. 25—32. See also idem, "Sphinxes and griffins from Geometric Knossos", in: *Antichità Cretesi, Studi . . . D. Levi* II, Catania 1978, pp. 161—164, Pl. 15.

[49] E.g. E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart 1931, Pls. 4, 6, 7.

[50] *GGP*, pp. 257—261, Pls. 56*e*, 57.

[51] E.g. Y. G. Tzedakis, *Deltion* 24, 1969, Chronika, p. 433, Pl. 439; *GG*, p. 276.

[52] O. Alexandri, *Deltion* 17, 1962, Chronika, pp. 52—54, Pls. 54—56.

[53] S. Weinberg, *Corinth* VII,1, Harvard 1943, Pl. 11, Athens NM 13674; (also NM 13678, a contemporary amphora on exhibition, but unpublished;) J. Threpsiades, *Praktika* 1934, pp. 54—55, Figs. 14, 15.

[54] Ashmolean Museum 1962.179.

[55] Alexandri (supra n. 52), Pl. 54*a*, Pl. 55*b*.

[56] Alexandri (supra n. 52), Pl. 56*a*. Later, but perhaps from the same workshop: B. v. Freytag Gen. Löringhoff, *AthMitt* 89, 1974, p. 9, no. 1, Pl. 2, 2—4.

[57] *GGP*, pp. 98—111, Pls. 19—21.

different ways, however superficially, to the refining influence of Corinth. Thus Corinthian was now not merely an original style, but the most influential elsewhere. Was it also a uniform style, and was it made only at Corinth itself? Much depends here on what view is taken of the Thapsos class,[58] which prefers the skyphos to the now orthodox kotyle, and has its own repertoire of narrow panel motifs encased within fine horizontal lines. Its extreme scarcity among finds at Corinth has encouraged attempts to locate its source elsewhere, first on Aigina,[59] and more recently at Megara.[60] But the latest chemical analysis finds no difference in clay between orthodox Corinthian from Corinth, Thapsos sherds from Delphi, and a fine krater in the Thapsos tradition found at Aigion.[61] There is good reason, then, to leave this class as a workshop of Corinth; when seen in a Corinthian context, it is less unorthodox than are some of the workshops of Athens or Argos when considered in their own local contexts.

The Corinthian and Argive styles are separated by a natural mountain barrier, crossed at the Dervenaki pass between Zygouries and Mycenae. Further west the boundary is less clear; but Phlius is an informative frontier site, relying on Corinthian and Argive imports for its fine wares and making none itself.[62]

Well before the end of MG II, the Argive style had moved away from the Atticizing *koine* towards originality, and in LG became the leading figured style of the Peloponnese. As in Attica, the best work is on large vessels found in graves; but, unlike most Attic scenes, the imagery is not funerary. Horses, as in Euboean, are the favourite subject, here accompanied by their masters, with fish in the background. A figured krater fragment from Argos,[63] of around 750, foreshadows the only three common themes in the whole Peloponnese: the horse-taming, the marshbird beside waves (later adopted by the Corinthians), and the dance (later taken up by the Laconians, and enjoying a revival in the latest Argive Geometric). The main centre must be Argos, where various figured workshops reveal differences of personal taste, while conforming to an overall Argolic character. This uniformity extends over the plain of Argos, where vases from the same workshop may be sent to Mycenae, Tiryns, or Nauplia. Some also reached Asine; but there a rather different style has been identified by R. Hägg,[64] still influenced in some measure by Attic. Yet another local variant has been suspected in the eastern Argolid, represented by a plaque exported to Aigina, a fragment from Troizen,[65] and many unpublished surface finds. Even so, these local variants are closer to the central style of Argos than to that of any other region.

For a style so rarely exported, the Argive is remarkably influential. Local imitations have been found as far afield as Kythera.[66] In Arcadia the local sanctuary pottery of Tegea[67] and Mantinea[68] follows the Argive manner so consistently that it is hard to detect any consistent Arcadian school: ceramically speaking, Arcadia is virtually a province of the Argolid. But not so Laconia, where Argive influence was also strong; for Spartan potters now created their own autonomous LG style,[69] based largely on deep and baggy native shapes adapted from an earlier repertoire, borrowing eclectically first from Argive and then from Corinthian sources for their decoration. As Laconia had been virtually unaffected by the Atticizing MG *koine*, this was its first true Geometric style; some rapid widening of horizons must be assumed, to explain why Spartan potters were so suddenly shaken out of their Subprotogeometric isolation.

Finally we come to the extensive West Greek region, comprising the remainder of the Peloponnese, the north shore of the gulf of Corinth beyond Medeon, and also Aetolia, Acarnania, and Ithaca. Lying far away from Aegean contacts, and well outside the MG koine, these lands nevertheless display a loose homogeneity in their pottery. Their two chief links are, first, the preference for a deep low-handled kantharos as the chief drinking vessel, and already seen—for example—in a Protogeometric grave at Derveni in Achaea;[70] and secondly, the appearance everywhere of a fairly homogeneous LG style under strong influence from Corinth.[71] Almost the whole region was easily accessible to Corinthian westward shipping—indeed, for Delphi, Ithaca, and Vitsa in Epirus, Corinth was the main source of fine pottery throughout the eighth century. The only exception is eastern Messenia where a hybrid style seems to have flourished,

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[58] *GGP*, pp. 102—104, Pl. 20*a—d*.

[59] Weinberg, "What is Protocorinthian Geometric?", *AJA* 45, 1941, pp. 40—44.

[60] Boardman, *Gnomon* 42, 1972, p. 496; cf. idem, *BSA* 68, 1973, pp. 278—80.

[61] N. Bozana-Kourou and others, "Neutron activations and X-ray analysis of "Thapsos Class" vases: an attempt to identify their origin", *Journal of Archaeological Science* 7, 1980, pp. 227—239.

[62] W. Biers, *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 395—447, votive deposit from *c.* 700 onwards.

[63] P. Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, Paris 1966, Pl. 40, C. 240; *GG*, pp. 141—142, Fig. 45*b*.

[64] R. Hägg, *OpAth* 6, 1965, pp. 132—133; *GGP*, p. 132—133.

[65] *GGP*, p. 143, nn. 3—7, Pl. 31*h*.

[66] *Kythera, excavations and studies*, ed. by J. N. Coldstream and G. L. Huxley, London 1973, pp. 201—202, no. 310, Pl. 58; p. 267, Q 4, pl. 86.

[67] C. Dugas, *BCH* 45, 1921, pp. 404—416. Courbin (supra n. 63), pp. 500—502, notes only minor deviations from the Argive style.

[68] T. Karagiorgha, *Deltion* 18, 1963, Chronika, pp. 88—89, Pl. 103*a*.

[69] *GGP*, pp. 212—219, Pl. 46; P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia*, London 1979, pp. 109—112.

[70] *GGP*, pp. 221—223, Pl. 48*a—c, g—h*.

[71] *GGP*, pp. 223—232, Pls. 49, 50; *GG*, pp. 180—185, Figs. 59, 60.

including an Argive element[72] perhaps arriving with refugees from the sack of Argolic Asine.[73] Otherwise Corinthian fashion prevails, taking the form of narrow zones of floating ornament, often widely spaced, and supported by thin horizontal lines. Only Ithaca aspires to any marked originality, adapting some motifs from an older local repertoire. But in Achaea and Elis the ornament is a dilution of Corinthian, and many vessels are hardly decorated at all. Olympia, for all its wealth in bronze, lies in a ceramic wilderness during this period; if the Olympian Zeus had no liking for pottery, one wonders whether his distaste was the cause or the result of the local potters' striking lack of creative talent.

The character of each local style has now been sketched: briefly but not, I hope, too subjectively. Let us now search for any historical factors which might explain their distribution and their interrelationships. Without much optimism I turn first to the map of Classical dialects, which for the Greek homeland cannot have been very different in the eighth century. In spite of good communications, as we have seen, each regional style now has its own identity; but neighbouring styles can still be imitated, if somewhat selectively. Could it be that potters were especially willing to learn from neighbours who spoke a similar dialect of Greek? For example, do the styles which are still Atticizing in Late Geometric mirror the Ionic spread across the Aegean? To some extent, perhaps. Yet Attic influence also reached Boeotia and Thessaly (probably through Euboean enterprise), while petering out in Samos without reaching Ionic Miletus; and Miletus consistently prefers an East Greek way of doing things, probably initiated in Dorian Rhodes. Of the south Doric islands, Crete and Thera share a similar approach to the decoration of cremation urns; but that is all—apart from the very limited export of Cretan Geometric, which is virtually confined to Thera and Melos.[74] In the Doric Peloponnese, the Corinthian, Argive, and Laconian styles betray a slight family resemblance, borrowing more from one another than from elsewhere. Yet all three preserve their own distinct personalities, being among the most creative, and the most original styles outside Attica.

Thus the consideration of dialects leads to rather inconclusive results. But mention of epithets like 'creative' and 'original' suggests quite a different grouping of regional styles, and quite a different sort of correlation with historical circumstances in each area. If we look for the local styles displaying the highest degree of creative originality, then Attic, Corinthian, and Argive must head the list. Then come Euboean and Laconian, followed by the various East Greek, Cretan, and Cycladic styles. Within the West Greek region, the relative originality of Ithacan here deserves a mention. All these can be set apart from the remaining areas, where the styles are higly derivative, owing rather more to external influence than to local invention: this category includes Boeotia, Thessaly, the rest of the West Greek area, and also Arcadia because of its reliance on Argive ideas. In general, the most original styles are also the most uniform: each one is set in a single urban centre, and radiates outward with little or no modification as far as the regional frontier. Conversely, the more derivative styles display less unity, and—with the possible exception of Boeotian Thebes—contain no important urban centres extending as far back as the late eighth century.

We can now return to our earlier proposition: that the sudden divergence of local styles from a previously existing *koine* might reflect the growth and consolidation of autonomous city-states. But the *polis*, in the strict Aristotelian sense, involves complete local autonomy based on a single urban settlement, and complete unity of town and countryside.[75] Anthony Snodgrass has recently defined on a map[76] the extent of the *polis* system in Archaic times: the area is thought to comprise Attica, Euboea, Chalcidice, the western seaboard of Asia Minor, Crete and all other Aegean islands, Laconia with Messenia, the Argolid, the Corinthia, Sikyon, and the Ionian islands. If we now think back to the late eighth century—that is, ignoring the north Aegean colonies in Chalcidice and the final absorption of Messenia by the Spartans—this *polis* area corresponds quite closely to the regions with original and creative styles of LG pottery, each radiating from a single centre over the surrounding countryside. Outside this area lie the lands of the *ethne*[77]—lands which were to preserve an older, tribal way of life into Archaic and Classical times: in this category are Thessaly, central Greece from Acarnania across to Boeotia, Achaea, Elis, and Arcadia. Some of these *ethne*, like the Boeotians, the Achaeans, and the Arcadians, accepted city life, but ran their affairs as a loose union of towns, none of them completely independent of their neighbours. Others, in Thessaly, Aetolia, Acarnania, and Elis, were never fully urbanized even in Classical times, when their populations were still relatively sparse. Back in the late eighth century these are the regions with derivative and decentralized styles, deeply influenced by the more progressive styles within the *polis* area. Thus not only the *poleis*, but the *ethne* too, find their reflections in the

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[72] E.g. W. A. McDonald, *Deltion* 25, 1970, Chronika, p. 186, Pl. 162*a*, where note the Argive leaf-lozenges on the kantharos (better illustrated in *Hesperia* 44, 1973, Pl. 31*b*).

[73] *GG*, p. 154; cf. B. Bohen, "A Geometric horse pyxis from Asine", *OpAth* 13, 1980, pp. 85—89, esp. p. 88, n. 15.

[74] *GGP*, p. 382, nn. 1, 2.

[75] Aristotle, *Pol.* 1252 b 29.

[76] Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece* (supra n. 16), Fig. 9.

[77] Snodgrass (supra n. 76), pp. 42—47; J. Baechler, "Les origines de la démocratie grecque", *Arch. Europ. Sociol.* 21, 1980, pp. 226—230.

character and quality of the various Late Geometric pottery styles.

This sweeping generalization must, of course, provoke many reservations. Of the *polis* styles, only Attic, Corinthian, and possibly Laconian[78] are likely to belong to a single *polis*. Aigina had no style, and neither apparently did Megara, unless it shared that of its Corinthian foe. As yet, no LG pottery has been published from Sikyon, or from the Ionian islands other than Ithaca and Kerkyra. Two of the leading *poleis* of the late eighth century, Chalcis and Eretria, fought a bitter war with one another, and yet were content to share an identical style. And yet a broad principle emerges from this analysis; that complete political autonomy encourages free invention, and leads in many cases to autonomy of style.

Thus, to the current debate about archaeology and the rise of the Greek state, the diversity of Late Geometric pottery can offer a constructive contribution. The very obstinacy with which the styles diverge from one another, in an age of reviving prosperity and rapidly improving communications, may seem somewhat perverse to students of the Late Bronze Age with its Mycenaean *koine*. In his lament for the passing of that vanished world, Sir Denys Page wrote: "the glory that was Mycenaean Greece lies buried under the dismal deposits of the impoverished and parochial Dorians".[79] But here we are considering the rise of a new civilization, when the Dorians, Ionians, and all other Greeks were proud to be parochial—and with good reason.[80]

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[78] At present our knowledge of Laconian LG is virtually confined to Sparta, the Menelaion, and Amyklai.

[79] D. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad*, California 1959, p. 119.

[80] I thank Prof. G. L. Huxley for reading this article in manuscript, and for his helpful suggestions. I am also grateful to Miss Susan Bird for drawing the Map which illustrates this article (*Fig. 1*).

Burial Customs and Social Differentiation in 8th-Century Argos

by
Robin Hägg

What I shall try to do in this paper is to use the evidence of graves and burial customs for the purpose of an analysis of such changes in the Late Geometric society that can perhaps be related to the emergence of the *polis* state. I shall not attempt to cover the whole of the Greek world, but rather base my investigation on the area that I know best, the Argolid.[1] This is not to assume that the conclusions reached will necessarily be valid for the entire Greek area—on the contrary I think *each* region has to be analysed *separately*. Especially in the case of burial customs the regional and local variations are impressive. Take Lefkandi[2] for example or compare the cremation graves of 8th century Thera[3] with the cists and pithoi of contemporary Argos,[4] always with the rite of inhumation. These are strong indications of the individuality of each region, and yet there must have been very much that was common to the inhabitants of the various Greek regions, in language, religion and traditions in general. The 8th century may have been a crucial period in this respect, when the diversity was overcome to a certain extent, because of intensified communication and—what is equally important—the impact of the Homeric epic. Uniformity was of course not reached until much later, if ever. As regards political and social developments, there may or must certainly have been parallel phenomena in various regions, but this has to be demonstrated on the basis of regional studies. Until now, too much generalization in our handbooks is based on the Attic evidence which has been assumed to be representative for the whole of Greece. It was admittedly until recently the only area sufficiently well known, but now the Argolid is just one of several regions, on which a similar analysis may well be attempted.

The Protogeometric society in the Argolid seems to have been fairly homogeneous, at least to judge from the graves and their contents. The dominating grave type is the stone cist, invariably used for a single inhumation.[5] In addition, there is a small percentage of burials in simple earth-cut graves, but no cremations and probably no pithos burials exist.[6] The size of the cist does not vary significantly, except in the case of infant burials, for which very small cists were built. Metal objects are fairly rare, except those belonging to the personal outfit, i.e. pins, finger-rings, ear-rings and hair spirals, occasionally of gold. Weapons are extremely rare. Except for a few tombs of either a certain richness (which means no more than that they contained up to a dozen vases) or completely without grave-goods, the expenditure accorded to each individual burial does not vary very much: two pots, a cup and a jug, form a sort of standard set. Incidentally, it seems as if the tombs richest in objects are those of children.[7]

The development during the two centuries of the Geometric period changes the picture completely, and the burial customs of the late 8th century clearly mirror a differentiated or stratified society. Already the Early Geometric phase has yielded some cist graves of larger size and with richer contents than any of the

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In addition to the customary abbreviations, the following one is used: Hägg, *Gräber* = R. Hägg, *Die Gräber der Argolis in submykenischer, protogeometrischer und geometrischer Zeit*, 1: *Lage und Form der Gräber*, Uppsala 1974 (= Boreas 7:1).

[1] See, in general, Hägg, *Gräber*; idem, "Some aspects of the burial customs in the Argolid in the Dark Age", *AAA* 13, 1980 (pr. 1981), pp. 119—126.

[2] M.R. Popham, L.H. Sackett and P.G. Themelis, *Lefkandi*, I: *The Iron Age*, Text & Plates, Athens and London 1978—80 (*BSA* Suppl. Vol. 11).

[3] E. Pfuhl, "Der archaische Friedhof am Stadtberge von Thera", *AthMitt* 28, 1903, pp. 1—290.

[4] Hägg, *Gräber*, pp. 18—47 and *passim*.

[5] Hägg, *Gräber*, pp. 100—161.

[6] Hägg, *Gräber*, pp. 137—138; for the possible dating of some pithos burials at Argos as early as the Protogeometric period, cf. P. Courbin, *RA* 1977, p. 329.

[7] See, for instance, E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, *Deltion* 24, 1969, Chronika, p. 104 (Tiryns, Daskalakis property). For the possible implications of these observations, cf. Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood's paper in this volume.

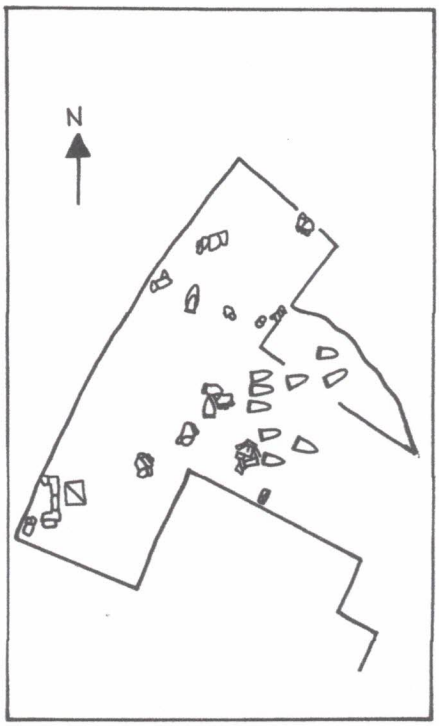

Fig. 1. The necropolis at the site of the new hospital at Argos (after E. Deilaki).

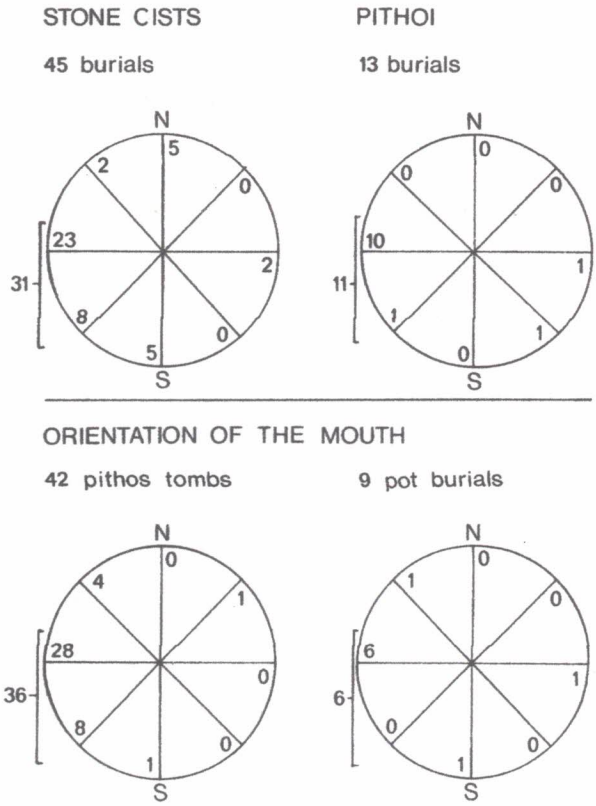

Fig. 2. The orientation of burials in stone cists, pithoi and pots in the Argolid in Late Geometric times (after Hägg, *AAA* 13, 1980, Fig. 4).

Protogeometric predecessors.[8] At the same time, the custom of pithos burial is introduced.[9] The grave-goods found in the early examples do not set them apart from the contemporary cist graves. At the end of our period, however, the pithos seems to be the preferred grave-type for a large portion of the community, presumably the poorer people. In Argos, but also in Nauplia, pithoi are found gathered in burial areas of a certain regularity, as for instance on the site of the new hospital at Argos (*Fig. 1*), excavated by Dr. E. Deilaki.[10] They seem to observe the new rules of orientation more rigidly than is the case in the cist tombs, i.e. the mouth of the pithos, which means the head of the buried person, is almost always directed to the west or south-west (*Fig. 2*).[11] As regards grave-goods, the pithoi are often completely without objects: neither pottery, nor personal belongings are common in these burials. Metal objects in particular are very rare, although not completely unknown. It seems that the majority of such poor, west-orientated pithos burials in a regular arrangement belong to the decades around 700 B.C.[12]

By that time, the customs connected with the cist tombs had also changed. Already in Early Geometric some cists had been made considerably bigger than before (as mentioned above), and this is a tendency that becomes more obvious towards the second half of the 8th century, when some cists reach the length of 2.5 m and a width of 1 m. A graph from my book (*Fig. 3*)[13] shows the dimensions of some groups of cist tombs: at the top, the Protogeometric tombs at Asine, long and narrow, with maximum dimensions *c.* 190 by 50 cm; in the middle, the Protogeometric and Early to Middle Geometric cists at Tiryns, where the dimensions do not exceed 150 by 80 cm; and below, the Geometric tombs at Argos, with several examples more than 200 by 90—100 cm. The Middle and Late Geometric cists, especially at Argos, are clearly more spacious, and this may be seen as the consequence of two new trends in combination. First,

[8] For instance, the Livaditis tomb at Argos, E. Deilaki, *AAA* 3, 1970, pp. 180—183.

[9] See supra, n. 6.

[10] Refs. in Hägg, *Gräber*, pp. 139—144. For the Hospital site, see E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, *Deltion* 19, 1964, Chronika, pp. 122—126.

[11] Discussed in Hägg, *AAA* 13, 1980, pp. 122—126 with Figs. 1—4.

[12] P. Courbin, *RA* 1977, p. 327.

[13] Hägg, *Gräber*, p. 125, Abb. 33.

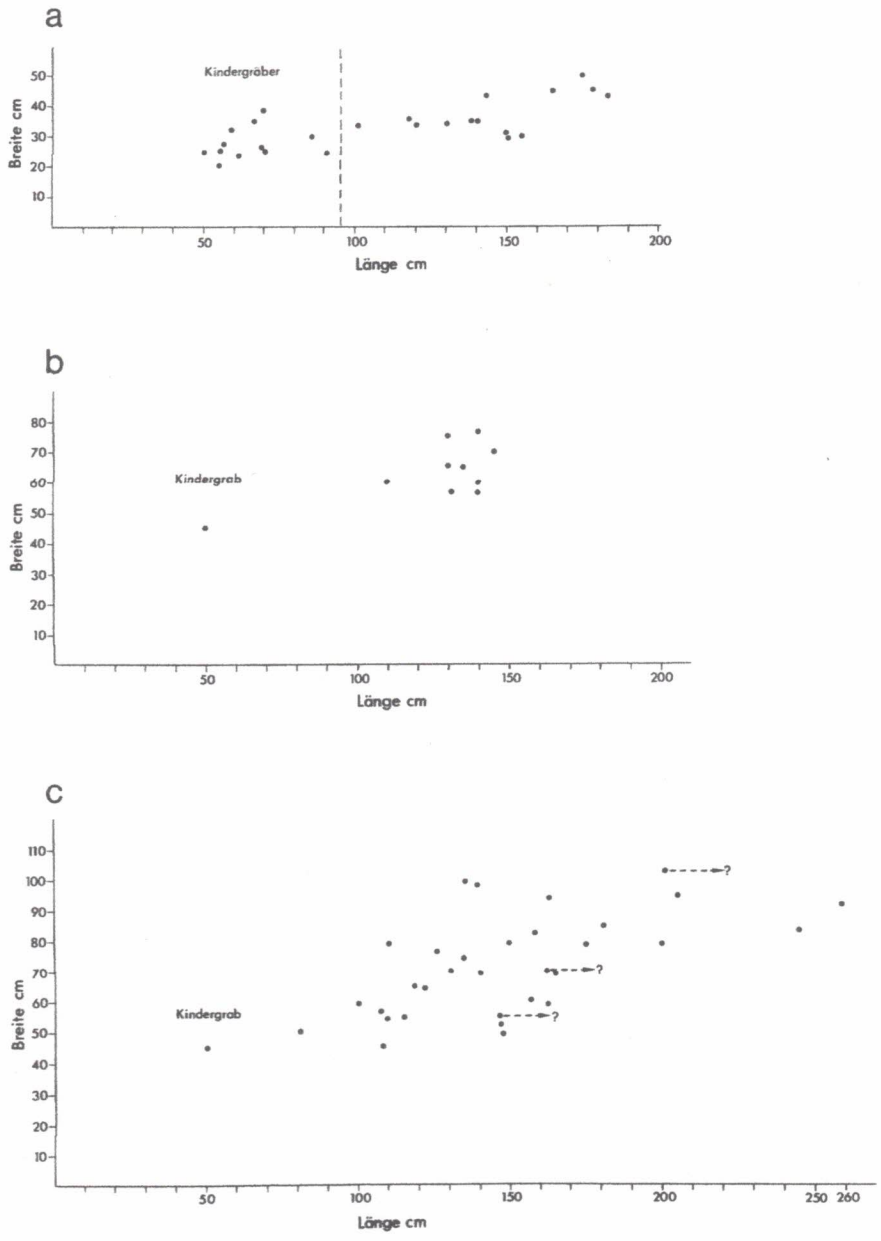

Fig. 3. The proportions and measurements of stone cists in the Argolid, Protogeometric to Late Geometric (after Hägg, *Gräber*, Abb. 33).

the quantity of grave-goods increased, especially the number of pots placed within the cist. In certain cases, when the space in the grave was still insufficient, pottery was also placed outside the cist. Second, the cists began to be used for successive burials, in all probability of members of the same family.[14] This custom of re-using the existing graves became more or less the norm for the Late Geometric burials in cists, but it is fairly rare in the case of pithoi. Most of these cists were re-used once or twice, but there are examples of up to seven skeletons in one and the same grave (in the Papaparaskevas ground-plot in Argos).[15]

In these last instances, the idea of the cist as a grave for one single individual has been given up, and instead the slightly more monumental cist serves as a family vault, basically in the same way as the chamber tombs of other periods or areas. Parallel tendencies to unite the individual burials or graves into a sort of family burial plot have been noted in other areas, where tumuli, cairns and grave-enclosures occur increasing-

[14] Hägg, *AAA* 13, 1980, pp. 119—122.
[15] Daux, *BCH* 91, 1967, pp. 844—846.

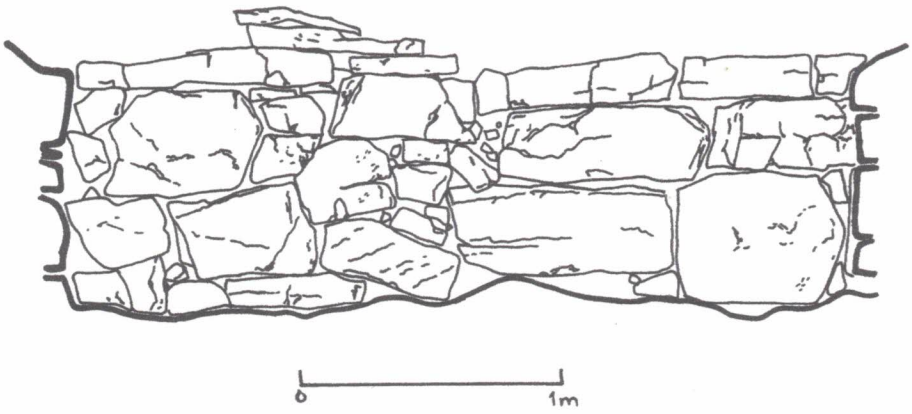

Fig. 4. Argos, T. 45 ("Panoply Tomb"), section and wall (after P. Courbin).

ly during the 8th century. As was pointed out long ago by Anthony Snodgrass,[16] this probably testifies to the strengthening of family and kinship ties, especially in the aristocracy. In the case of Argos, it is easy to see that the people buried in the spacious cist tombs are members of the leading aristocratic families. The final proof is given by the armour and weapons in these graves. The most famous example of this phenomenon is T. 45 at Argos, the "Panoply Tomb",[17] in which a panoply, a helmet and numerous other valuable objects were found (*Fig. 4*). Its date is Late Geometric, but there is an earlier instance, from about the transition from Middle to Late Geometric, excavated by Mrs. Deilaki, in the Theodoropoulos ground-plot.[18] This tomb contained a bronze helmet of a different type and in addition two iron spearheads and six obeloi. The size of the cist was 2 by 1 m. Of about the same date are tombs 1 and 3 in the Makris ground-plot,[19] that contained three and one iron sword, respectively. Grave 1 had the dimensions 2 m by 80 cm. A further instance of the same category was like-wise found by Mrs. Deilaki, this time in the Stavropoulos ground-plot.[20] The dimensions of the cist: width 90 cm, length at least 2.20 m. (*Fig. 5*). It is dated to Late Geometric. Here also a helmet was found, together with very scanty remains of a bronze cuirass; also the handle of an iron sword.

A different kind of evidence for the importance of the aristocratic warrior in this period is a terracotta figurine found in connection with some of these large tombs in Argos.[21]

To sum up, there is a striking correlation between the large size of the stone cist on the one hand and the richness and composition of the grave-goods on the other. Characteristic is the occurrence of metal objects, like armour, weapons, knives, bronze bowls and obeloi. The very few gold objects of the Late Geometric period all occur in large-size cist tombs.[22] There is also a comparatively large number of pots associated with these cists, inside and sometimes outside. Finally, it has been noted that many of the bigger cists have been re-used once or several times, but this generally does not apply to the tombs with armour and/or weapons.

These tombs, which I take to be those of the nobility, often warrior-like in appearance, are sometimes gathered in groups like burial-plots of the family or clan. Such plots can be assumed in the Papaparaskevas and Makris ground-plots and certainly in other places that are still only partially excavated.

By contrast, the pithos burials stand out as poor or (toward the end of the 8th century) very poor. Metal finds are rare, even personal belongings like rings and pins, not to mention weapons. There are a few cases with quite a number of pots as grave-goods, but in general the pithoi are poor also in this respect. Approximately one third of the pithoi are completely without

[16] A.M. Snodgrass, *The dark age of Greece,* Edinburgh 1971, pp. 194—196.

[17] P. Courbin, "Une tombe géométrique d'Argos", *BCH* 81, 1957, pp. 322—386.

[18] Deilaki, *Deltion* 28, 1973, Chronika, p. 99 with Pls. 94—96.

[19] O. Alexandri, *Deltion* 18, 1963, Chronika, pp. 57—60.

[20] Deilaki, *Deltion* 26, 1971, Chronika, pp. 81—82 with Fig. 13 and Pl. 68.

[21] *BCH* 91, 1967, pp. 844—846 with Fig. 24; for a full publication, see H. Sarian, "Terres cuites géométriques d'Argos", *BCH* 93, 1969, pp. 651—673.

[22] Gold objects in tombs at Argos: T. 37, 45 and 106 (P. Courbin, *Tombes géométriques d'Argos* I, Paris 1974); Karabelas property, Tomb V (I. Papachristodoulou, *Deltion* 24, 1969, Chronika, p. 107); tomb in Katsaros property (N.M. Verdelis, *Deltion* 17, 1961—62, Chronika, p. 56); tomb in Livaditis property (Deilaki, supra n. 8); OTE site, Tombs 3 and 6 (S.I. Charitonidis, *Deltion* 21, 1966, Chronika, pp. 126—127); Phlessas property, Tomb 5 (O. Alexandri, *Deltion* 16, 1960, Chronika, p. 93). Most common are so-called hair-spirals, but there are also finger-rings, ear-rings and gold foil.

grave-goods of any kind. I think one can also see that burial grounds with exclusive or predominant use of pithoi are a new feature at the end of the 8th century, like the instance of the area of the new hospital at Argos mentioned above (*Fig. 1*),[23] or the groups of pithoi found in the bed of the river Xerias to the north of the city.[24] Finally, I have the impression that the west-orientation of the burials, which had become increasingly popular during the Geometric period, was more strictly observed by those people who buried their dead in pithoi.[25] It seems as if this custom was based on beliefs that were stronger on the popular level than among the nobility.

I hope that this study of grave forms and burial gifts has shown clearly enough that the homogeneous society of Protogeometric times had developed by the end of the 8th century into a differentiated society with at least two distinct classes, each with its characteristic burial customs. Still, it should be stressed that the differences between rich and poor tombs is not so striking as in many other societies, and that there is a complete absence of imported luxury articles even in the richest of the Argive aristocratic tombs.

A final note: not only do I suggest that this is local development of Argos and the Argolid, which may or may not have its counterparts in other regions of Greece, but I also think that there are differences between the Argive sites. So far, at least, we do not have any large-size cist tombs outside Argos, at sites like Tiryns, Nauplia, Mycenae and Asine, and very few weapons are found there in Late Geometric times.[26] This, of course, may be a mere coincidence, or could depend on the scarcity of material in general, but it may be significant. Argos was the only one of the communities in and around the Argive plain to develop into a true *polis*. As I have tried to show in another paper,[27] there seems to have been a sort of *synoikismos* taking place sometime around the transition from Protogeometric to Early Geometric. The outlying habitation areas of Protogeometric times were then given up and the population moved together in the area of the later agora and below the east slope of the acropolis (Larisa). The outlying habitation areas may well have been farmsteads or estates, rather than villages, and the move of the land-owners to the village of Argos was perhaps the first step towards the development of the *polis*.

Probably these families, who moved to the central village, still continued to bury their dead on their estates: at least in two of the deserted Protogeometric habitation areas such richly equipped aristocratic tombs have been found (namely close to the south cemetery and in the Papaparaskevas ground-plot).[28] It is possible that some aristocratic families also moved from other areas in the plain to join the growing community of Argos, but there is no clear indication of this as yet. In any case it seems as if Argos from now on developed faster both in economic and in political respects, soon to emerge as the indisputable centre of the area, with the other smaller communities like Tiryns and Mycenae leading a modest life in its shadow.

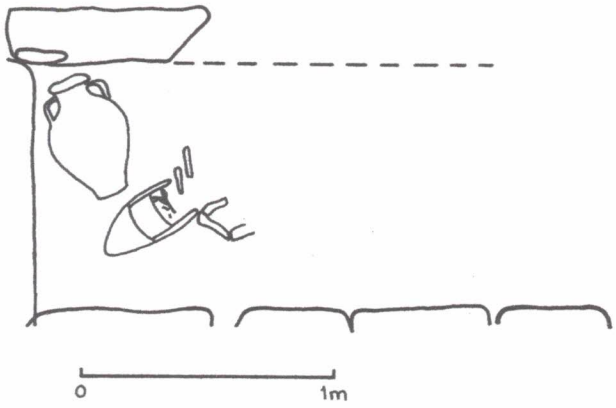

Fig. 5. Argos, cist-grave in Stavropoulos property, plan (after E. Deilaki).

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Discussion

P. Courbin: I agree, but I have one basic question about the pithos burials. What kind of tomb do you imagine in the 7th century?

R. Hägg: For reasons I cannot explain there are very few tombs of the 7th century both in Athens and Argos. It is possible that there was a drop in the population.

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[23] Supra, n. 10.

[24] Alexandri, *Deltion* 16, 1960, Chronika, p. 93; Charitonidis, *Deltion* 21, 1966, Chronika, p. 126; see also Hägg, *Gräber*, p. 21, plan Abb. 4 (no. 39).

[25] Hägg, *AAA* 13, 1980, p. 126.

[26] An iron spear-head was found in Tomb XXI at Nauplion, dated to LG I (Charitonidis, *Praktika* 1954, pp. 234—235), another possible specimen in pithos XII at Tiryns (N.M. Verdelis, *AthMitt* 78, 1963, p. 53), not closely datable. Iron daggers are reported from Tiryns Grave 20, also a pithos which is difficult to date (*Tiryns* I, Athens 1912, p. 130), and from Grave G. II at Mycenae (V.R. Desborough, *BSA* 49, 1954, pp. 260—265), dated to LG I (J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric pottery*, London 1968, p. 125).

[27] Hägg, "Zur Stadtwerdung des dorischen Argos", in *Palast und Hütte. Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum von Archäologen, Vor- und Frühgeschichtlern*, Mainz 1982, pp. 297—307.

[28] Cf. Hägg (supra n. 27), p. 298 and Catalogue, p. 301 (nos. 1 and 4); Courbin (supra n. 22), *passim*, esp. T. 1, 6—8 and 12—16. Likewise, aristocratic tombs were found at provincial sites in Attica, presumably on the estates of Athenian noble-men and land-owners; cf., for instance, J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977, pp. 78—80 and 133—134 ("decentralization of wealth").

A Trauma in Flux: Death in the 8th Century and After

by
Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood

The history of mentalities has established that social attitudes towards death, like all collective representations, undergo change over time, as a result of changes in the demographic, socioeconomic, historical, political, intellectual and technological realities of the society, which affect collective representations in complex ways. This change is slow, though faster in some periods, and involves stratifications, so that old attitudes can be found side by side with new ones in the same age, in different places and circles, but sometimes also within one individual.[1]

Insufficient evidence restricts our access to early Greek society, but it is possible to recover Dark Age and 8th cent. attitudes to death, at least in their basic lines, through a controlled use of the Homeric material in conjunction with the information provided by Hesiod and archaeology. Given the nature of our sources, we need to combine several methodological tools, both to extract maximum information, and to effect some cross-checks. The latter aim can also be achieved through the comparison of the results of the study of the different grids of evidence, provided each grid is studied independently. Concerning the decoding of archaeological data, an important tool is supplied by recent work which has revealed certain modal tendencies behind the variability of funerary data, and patterns of correlation between archaeological data and categories of thought.[2] Also, some basic models of social attitudes to death have been proposed, to which our "readings" can be compared. Finally, social anthropologists have arrived empirically at certain observations of universal validity. An important one is that weeping, lamenting and self-aggression are not a spontaneous show of emotion, but a regulated

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Introductory note. A different version of this paper, written for a different public and with a different emphasis, entitled 'To Die and Enter the House of Hades: Homer, Before and After', is published in J. Whaley, ed., *Mirrors of Mortality: Essays on the Social History of Death*, London 1981, pp. 15—39. To a large extent the two papers are complementary.

Abbreviations of periodicals follow the common conventions with the addition of:

ASocR	*Archives de sciences sociales des religions*

The following abbreviations are also used:

AG	A. M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece. The Age of Experiment*, London 1980.
Andronikos	M. Andronikos, *Totenkult*, Göttingen 1968 (= *ArchHom*, Bd III, Kap. W).
Ariès, *L'h.*	Ph. Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, Paris 1977.
Burkert, *GR*	W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart 1977 (Religionen der Menschheit, 15).
CaC	E. Leach, *Culture and Communication. The Logic by which Symbols are Connected*, Cambridge 1976 (Themes in the Social Sciences, 1).
Celeb.	R. Huntington and P. Metcalf, *Celebrations of Death. The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*, Cambridge 1979.
DAG	A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971.
GBC	D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, London 1971.
GGrR	M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I. *Die Religion Griechenlands bis auf die griechische Weltherrschaft*, Munich 1967[3] (HAW 5:2:1).
Vovelle, *Mour.*	M. Vovelle, *Mourir autrefois. Attitudes collectives devant la mort au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1974.

[1] On change: Ph. Ariès, *Western Attitudes toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Baltimore 1974; idem, *L'h.*; idem, "Les grandes étapes et le sens de l'évolution de nos attitudes devant la mort", *ASocR* 39, 1975, pp. 7—15; Vovelle, *Mour.*; D.E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death*, Oxford 1977; and vol. 39, 1975, of *ASocR*. On stratification: Vovelle, *Mour.*, p. 10; idem, "Les attitudes devant la mort, front actuel de l'histoire des mentalités", *ASocR* 39, 1975, p. 23; Ariès, *Western Attitudes* (supra), pp. 1—2.

[2] Cf. especially, the different work, in different areas, of Ariès (cf. nn. 1, 4) and L.R. Binford, "Mortuary Practices: Their Study and their Potential", in L.R. Binford, *Archaeological Perspective*, New York and London 1972, pp. 208—43.

symbol channelling grief when this is experienced, generating it when not, and in any case amplifying it as part of a release-mechanism leading to adjustment. Another, that the range of acceptable and/or prescriptive emotions at death-rituals varies greatly, depending on whether the society over-plays or underplays the externalization of grief.[3] I will argue that the Dark Age attitudes to death were of the "familiar" or "accepting" type, a version of the 'Tamed Death' model analysed by Ariès.[4] In this model, which was still dominant in the 8th cent., death is accepted as man's inescapable lot, part of the life-cycle of the world, and of the community, in which the generations succeed each other, and the continuity of the community gives meaning to the discontinuity of the individual. Death is familiar, hateful rather than frightening, and contact with death and the dead is not avoided, nor is there excessive concern with avoiding one's own death. This set of attitudes came under increasing pressure in the 8th century, when the circumstances of the Greek world changed significantly. Especially, the population explosion and the resulting urbanization and rise of the city-state,[5] the sharp increase in communications inside and outside Greece, and colonization, expanded drastically Greek physical and mental horizons, and dislocated or destroyed many of the structures on which the 'familiar' death attitudes had depended. So the changing demographic, socioeconomic, political and intellectual realities of 8th cent. Greece, in interaction with each other, affected the existing system of funerary behaviour, attitudes to death and afterlife beliefs. They initiated a process of change, feedback and interaction within the interlocking parts of the funerary system (multiplier effect), and continued to fuel it through the following period, thanks to the continuing socioeconomic and political fluidity and unrest and to the archaic intellectual developments. We can detect the beginning of the shift in death attitudes in the course of the 8th century.

The richest source for Dark Age and 8th cent. social attitudes to death is Homer. Naturally, any Homeric picture, any aspect of the Homeric world, is an artificial conflation made up of elements originating in different societies and periods.[6] However, because of the slow and stratified change in death-attitudes, it seems that the stratified Homeric nexus of such attitudes corresponds to a large extent with the actual nexus of 8th cent. attitudes, when death-related collective representations begin to show signs of a slight movement. The epics contain one dominant and deeply rooted model of attitude to death, manifested in all areas of death-related behaviour and belief, and a very thin, unintegrated scattering of elements representing a move away from this model. This analysis, and the hypothesis which suggests itself, that these attitudes had remained static during the centuries of the epics' formation and transmission and have only recently begun to move, gains confirmation from two sources. First, the archaeological evidence for the Dark Ages and the 8th cent. respectively, in so far as this can be informative; and second, from the observation that all the trends which appear in this tentative form here, and which I interpret as 8th cent. innovations, can be seen to continue, accelerating sharply, in the archaic period (cf. also n. 77, *infra*).

Homer offers a vivid articulation of the model of the familiar death in *Il.* 6. 145—9: "Why do you ask about my lineage, great-hearted son of Tydeus? The generations of men are like the generations of leaves. The wind scatters some of the leaves down on to the earth, but when spring comes the luxuriant forest produces other leaves; so it is with the generations of men, one grows, the other comes to an end." This is a striking acceptance of the discontinuity of the individual set against the continuity of the species which gives it meaning, and of individual deaths as episodes in the self-renewing life-cycle of nature, the community and the family. This perception of life and death dominates the epics, especially the *Iliad*, which is so centrally concerned with death and its significance.[7] The matter-of-fact acceptance of the prospect of one's own death is voiced explicitly and repeatedly: cf., for example, *Il.* 17.220—8; 18. 115—25; 21.106—13; 24.525—42; cf. also *Il.* 21.463—6 for the gods' viewpoint. The Homeric acceptance of one's mortality is symbiotic with another aspect of the 'familiar' type of attitude to death: there is relatively little interest in adjusting one's behaviour so that the risk of death is diminished. On the contrary, Sarpedon states explicitly in *Il.* 12.322—8, contemplation of one's mortality diminishes the importance of the death-risk, and the desire to postpone one's death becomes subordinated to other aims, in this case the pursuit of honour and glory. Nor is Achilles expressing a different mentality and regret for his earlier

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[3] For bibliography on models, cf. n. 1. On both observations, cf. *Celeb.*, pp. 24—33, 42—3.

[4] Ariès, *Western Attitudes* (supra n. 1), pp. 2—25; *ASocR* (supra n. 1), pp. 7—10; *L'h.*, pp. 13—287, 596—602. Fot the partial shift in attitudes comparable to that proposed here: *L'h.*, pp. 99—287, 599—602. On differences between the Greek and medieval attitudes, cf. my "To Die . . ." (supra Intr. n.), p. 39.

[5] Cf. A.M. Snodgrass, *Archaeology and the rise of the Greek state*, Cambridge 1977, pp. 10—8; *AG*, pp. 19—25. The case put forward against Snodgrass' population explosion theory (cf. J. McK.Camp II, "A Drought in the Late 8th cent. B.C.", *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 397—411) is unconvincing. Cf. also Snodgrass in this volume.

[6] D.H.F. Gray, "Homeric epithets for things", *CQ* 61, 1947, pp. 109—21; idem, "Metal-Working in Homer", *JHS* 74, 1954, pp. 1—15; A.M. Snodgrass, "An historical Homeric society?", *JHS* 94, 1974, pp. 114—25. In common with most scholars I consider *Od.* 24 a later addition, and will exclude it from the discussion.

[7] Cf. J. Griffin, "Homeric pathos and objectivity", *CQ* 26, 1976, pp. 162, 176.

choice of early death and glory when, in *Od.* 11.465—91, he tells Odysseus that he would rather be alive and the servant of a poor man than rule among the dead; for his choice had been based on the premise that we all have to die anyway. Here he is simply giving voice to the passionate love of life which goes together with the familiar and accepting attitudes, here, as in other societies.[8] Sarpedon's statement and Achilles' behaviour express the ethos of the aristocratic warrior-champions, but this ethos does not 'explain' the diminished death-avoidance; on the contrary, the ethos itself is affected by, and interacts with, the whole early Greek nexus of attitudes to death. We shall see, with reference to 7th cent. Sparta, how a militaristic ethos interacts with death-attitudes—as all aspects of a society's culture interact with each other. Indeed, the attitude of matter-of-fact acceptance, rather than individual assertion, in the face of the human condition, underlying the diminished death-avoidance, is placed in a wider context in *Od.* 18.130—42, where we are told that man's only real guarantee and defence against chaos and human helplessness is respect for the divine order and justice. Acceptance of, and respect for, the cosmic order is deeply rooted in Greek mentality at all periods. As will become clear, in this age, the perception of the cosmic order—which changed in the course of time—included the inescapable fate of death, leading to an inescapable afterlife in Hades.

The Greek language illustrates dramatically this early Greek perception: it defines mankind (*brotoi, thnetoi anthropoi*—the gods being the *athanatoi*) through its mortality. The concept—deeply rooted in Homer—of *moira thanatoio,* which from 'portion of death' becomes 'fate of death' is one more expression of the same perception: death *is* the lot of man, each death the fulfilment of that fate. This concept clearly belongs to a set of representations in which the universe is seen as an ordered cosmos, where everything has its allotted place, and each person has a portion of life, after which he gets his lot of death, and that is how the universe functions through a life-cycle in which the generations succeed each other—from which perspective individual deaths are episodes in the cosmos' history. This concept of portion of death gave rise, by extension, to another notion which occurs in Homer, that of preapportioned day of death: a man will not die before that day—though the possibility that he may do is mentioned—, but when it comes he cannot escape. In some cases, this notion cannot be taken as the expression of an *ad hoc* defensive mechanism against the pressures and fears of war, but is clearly an articulated belief that man's lot and/or day of death are preapportioned, belief also underlying the mythological representation of Moira or Aisa spinning a man's destiny at his birth: cf. *Il.* 6.487—9; 7.44—52; 20.330—6; *Od.* 5.113—5, 436; Fate spinning: *Il.* 20.127—8; 24.209—12; *Od.* 7.192—8; cf. also *Il.* 22.209—14 for *kerostasia*. But this is not quite inexorable predestination. For when the concept of preallotted fate and death is articulated into a narrative pattern, as in the case of Achilles and of Euchenor (*Il.* 13.663—72), a considerable element of choice remains, and even the time spans seem flexible (cf. also *Il.* 16.852—4). The concept of *moira thanatoio,* deriving from the early Greek ordered articulation of the cosmos, and expressing man's perception of death in the context of these familiar attitudes, is emphatically asserted in the epics. But the notion of preapportioned life and death was only a mental hypothesis thrown out within the early Greek collective representations, but neither precisely articulated nor firmly asserted; hence it remained flexible and did not constrict or oppress, but, as it did not clash with the dominant funerary ideology, it stayed available to be used when the need arose.[9]

The accepting attitudes of the familiar model are also reflected in the approach to the death of the (important) other as presented in Homer: it causes grief, but is accepted as a blow from which one will recover and life will continue, not seen as the (lasting) sentimental loss of an irreplaceable human being; the emphasis is on the deceased's social persona and the disadvantages his death will bring to the bereaved: cf. *Il.* 6.407 ff.; 22.477 ff.; 5.156—8; 13.656—9; 9.632—6. Though Achilles' grief had elements of sentimental loss, it was mixed with guilt,[10] but *Od.* 15.353—9 seems a real exception, and the fact that here inability to adapt to bereavement and resume normal life is described as plausible conduct may indicate an incipient, slight, recession in the acceptance of death, entailing greater difficulty in coping with the loss of the other.

This nexus of attitudes making up the 'familiar' accepting model, generated, and was supported by, various collective representations which formed the early Greek system of symbolic defences towards death, helping to contain death's terror. An example of such a reassuring image is the mythological representation of Apollo and Artemis as death-bringing gods. For death threatens society's defences against chaos and anomic terror, and sudden death does so more profoundly than other kinds.[11] This mythological representation reassured and contained the threat and ter-

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[8] Ariès, *L'h.*, pp. 22—3.

[9] The psychology of religion illustrates the reduction of death-anxiety through the adoption of suitable beliefs: cf. M. Argyle, "Seven Psychological Roots of Religion", in L.B. Brown, ed., *Psychology and Religion,* Harmondsworth 1973, p. 25. On fate, cf. *GGrR,* pp. 361—8.

[10] For Achilles' motivation and behaviour, cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus,* Berkeley 1971, pp. 19—22.

[11] Cf. P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality,* Harmondsworth 1971, orig. publ. 1966, p. 121; Ariès, *L'h.*, pp. 597—8; *Celeb.*, p. 23.

ror by explaining sudden death in terms of the intelligible and familiar mechanism of divine action: a woman who dies suddenly has been shot by Artemis, a man by Apollo.[12] Further, this image allowed them to cope with the threat and terror by means of the established pattern of relationships between men and gods. Mostly, to be shot by Apollo or Artemis involved dying prematurely, and it was this which was objectionable in this death, not the manner, which in itself was desirable (cf. *Od.* 15.403—11). As the mythological paradigms show, this premature sudden death was perceived as divine punishment, and this rendered the terrifying event both intelligible and justified. It also provided means of defence when the community suffered the trauma of a series of sudden deaths, as in an epidemic: the deity was angry and shot people (and animals), but measures could be taken to placate the divine wrath, and then the pestilence would cease (cf. *Il.* 1.9—10, 43—52).

The belief that everybody must die and go to Hades, even the gods' children, even Herakles, is a constant Homeric motif and a fundamental tenet of mainstream Homeric eschatology (cf. e.g. *Od.* 3.236—8). Homeric eschatology is conflated and composite, consisting of elements of different origin and with detectable divergences between the different strands of belief.[13] But, we shall see, the beliefs which interact most closely with attitudes to death, expressing such attitudes and being most immediately affected by them, are either constant throughout the epic, or constant but for a few, thinly scattered, new elements. The variation in the nature of the shades among the different strands of belief does not affect the attitudes to death.[14] A constant feature in the epics is the representation of the shade's journey to Hades and of the division between the two worlds (cf. *Il.* 23.71—6; 16.856; 22.362). The shade flies to Hades which she reaches without the help of a psychopompic figure. She is not allowed to cross the river dividing Hades from the further reaches of the world of the living until her corpse is buried. Once inside Hades, she cannot re-cross the river and return to the upper world. This definite division, naturally articulated, between the upper world and Hades, reinforced by the images of Cerberus and the gates,[15] is a manifestation of an ordered and structured universe in which there are proper boundaries between life and death and the passage from one to the other is governed by fixed and strict rules which are part of the cosmic order. In contrast to the deeply-rooted principle 'we all must die', there are two instances of another belief, according to which a few select people connected with the gods escape death and gain immortality. Menelaos and the Dioskouroi are the two certain Homeric examples of this challenge to the inescapable fate of death[16] which grows in the course of the 8th cent., so that in Hesiod (*Op.* 157 ff.) part of the heroic race goes to the Isles of the Blest. In the archaic period this challenge, we shall see, accelerated sharply. Another facet of the 'familiar' attitudes, in early Greece, as in the Middle Ages, is the collective destiny of the shades, a fundamental tenet of mainstream Homeric eschatology; there is no differentiation, no individual destiny after death, no rewards or punishments depending on past behaviour. The notion of individual destiny emerges in archaic times, and is one of the symptoms of the shift in attitudes, closely parallelled by a similar development in the Late Middle Ages.[17] But the seeds of this development are in Homer: the oath formula mentions that the Erinyes punish dead men who have sworn a false oath.[18] The archaic eschatological revolution, then—which, like the similar Late Medieval one, (cf. n. 4) resulted from, and symptomized, a shift towards a more anxious and individual perception of death—, was first manifested in the more recent, thin, layer of Homeric belief which reflected a slight movement in 8th cent. death attitudes. The primary dimensions of the new eschatology are the individual differentiation of the shades and the possibility of happy afterlife. Both were present in Homer's 'exceptional heroic' model,

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[12] Artemis: *Od.* 11.171—3, 197—203; *Il.* 21.483—4; mythological paradigm: Ariadne: *Od.* 11.324—5; Apollo: *Il.* 24.757; *Od.* 3.279—81; 17.251—2, 494, 7.63—5; mythological paradigm: Eurytos: *Od.* 8.226—8; together: Niobe's children: *Il.* 24.605—6.

[13] I argued this point in detail in my unpublished Oxford doctoral thesis and in a lecture, as yet also unpublished, delivered as Kinchin Smith Memorial Lecture at the Institute of Education of the University of London and again at the École des Hautes Études in Paris.

[14] Cf. also my "To Die . . ." (supra, Intr. n.), p. 18. On Thanatos, cf. E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, Berkeley 1979, pp. 37—41. On Ker, *op. cit.*, pp. 39—41. Cf. also, on both, my "To Die . . ." (supra, Intr. n.), p. 19.

[15] Gates: *Il.* 8.367; 13.415; 5.646; 23.71; *Od.* 11.277; 14.156; Hes. *Th.* 773; cf. Hesiod, *Theogony*, ed. by M.L. West, Oxford 1966, p. 365. Cerberus: Hes. *Th.* 767—73. Cf. also "To Die . . ." (supra, Intr. n.), pp. 20—1.

[16] *Od.* 4.561—5; 11.300—4. Kalypso's promise of immortality to Odysseus (*Od.* 23.333—6) is probably post-Homeric. In contrast to the more popular view based on the presence of Rhadamanthys (cf. L. Malten, "Elysion und Rhadamanthys", *JdI* 28, 1913, pp. 35—51; M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund 1950², pp. 623—30; *GGrR*, pp. 324—9), I do not think Elysion is of Minoan origin. This concept, as it appears in Homer, is, I suggest, a conflation made up of elements of different origin: the name Elysion (for its Greek etymology, cf. W. Burkert, "Elysion", *Glotta* 39, 1961, pp. 208—13), the concept of paradise, the association with a Minoan ruler, the concept of, and the criteria for, selection.

[17] H. de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, Paris 1949, p. 322; C. Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050—1200*, London 1972, pp. 144—52; Ariès, *L'h.*, pp. 149—54.

[18] *Il.* 3.276—80; 19.259—60; cf. Burkert, *GR*, p. 304; cf. also "To Die . . ." (supra, Intr. n.), p. 22. Sisyphos, Tantalos and Tityos, cosmic sinners who offended the gods personally, are a different case.

and the former had already been applied to common mortals, albeit in a very limited way. During the 8th cent. the happy afterlife theme grew considerably in the context of the heroic model, under the combined pressure of the slowly-changing death attitudes and the growth of heroic cults.[19] This provided the model for the expansion of the individualizing trend into channels offering the common man hope for a happy afterlife—under the pressure of the shift in death attitudes.

Let us now consider the early Greek collective attitudes to death as they were embodied in, and expressed through, the death-ritual, society's codified, prescribed reaction to death. The following reconstruction of the Dark Age and 8th cent. ritual is based on the Homeric material, whenever possible supplemented, and, more importantly, controlled, by archaeological evidence and information from Hesiod. The Homeric material contains elements of conflation, which are themselves informative, but the ritual's main structure and the basic ritual behaviour are fairly constant.

The dying man, who knows he is dying, says a few words, which in battle include a request for proper burial: cf. *Il.* 16.492—501, 843—54; 22.337—43. At home, the farewell is peaceful and involves physical contact: cf. *Il.* 24.742—5. These actions, which also accompany the familiar model of death attitudes in other cultures, are a concrete and comforting (to both survivors and the dying) expression of the continuity of life, the community and the family, which alone make sense of the individual discontinuity.[20] The gestures performed after expiration (the corpse's eyelids are drawn down and his mouth closed) have a similar meaning and also express symbolically that death has taken place (*Od.* 11.424—6; *Il.* 11.451—3). Then the death ritual proper begins.[21] I consider this ritual in detail, in order to 'decode' it, bring out the 'meanings' of its component elements and of their relationships, and thus show how it operates, what aims it is trying to achieve and how. This will allow us to recover the collective death attitudes which are embodied in the ritual. For this, we must place each element in its context, base, as far as possible, the reading of its significance and function here on the values and meanings which it possesses in that society, and not ascribe values imported from outside, including from our own 'logical' models, moulded by our very different cultural system and death attitudes. Though when internal evidence leaves the significance of an element uncertain, the use of ethnographical models may serve as an 'eye-opener' and control against implicit assumptions.[22] Greek death-rituals, even their most public part, and in their most public (early) form, were not conducted by a professional priest, but by the deceased's kinsfolk supported by other members of the community. So their primary dimension was social rather than religious, an impression confirmed by the ritual's overall nature.[23] There are two dominant action-plots: mourning and burying. In the former women play the dominant role, in the latter men. And throughout the epic, when reference is made to mourners, these are always women, when to burial men: *Od.* 3.260—1; *Il.* 11.394—5; 22.82—9; 18.339—40; 16.674—5, cf. *Il.* 24.793—6. With regard to the death-ritual's three phases, in the first the main ritual weight was carried by women, in the second by men and women equally, and in the third by men. In the first phase, immediately after the death, the mourners express violent grief. The women closest to the deceased, normally wife and mother, fling themselves on the corpse, shriek and wail, beat their breasts, disarrange their clothes and tear their breasts, neck, face and hair: *Il.* 24.710 ff.; 19.282 ff.; *Od.* 8.523—30; *Il.* 18.22—31. The male relatives and close friends roll about in filth and put filth on their head, neck and face: *Il.* 18.22—31; 22.405 ff.; 24.160 ff. Friends and others not immediately affected wail and lament: *Il.* 22.408—10; 24.710 ff. Then the corpse is washed, anointed and clothed in clean clothes before being laid out in a bier: *Il.* 18.346—55; 24.580—90; cf. also *Il.* 7.421—31; 16.679—80. Both the women's self-wounding and the men's self-defilement are forms of self-aggression which allowed the mourners to release some of their sorrow and anger.[24] Both acts externalized the grief in concrete, but also symbolic terms (wounds, dirt), and separated symbolically the mourners from normality and order, separation echoing, and giving symbolic expression to, the separation of death. Death is, above all, a separation: at

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[19] On 8th-cent. hero-cults: J.N. Coldstream, "Hero-cults in the age of Homer", *JHS* 96, 1976, pp. 8—17; Snodgrass (supra n. 5), pp. 30—1; *AG*, pp. 38—40, 68.

[20] Ariès, *L'h.*, pp. 21—6.

[21] On the ritual, cf. also Andronikos, *passim*; description: pp. 1—37.

[22] On ritual symbolism, cf. esp. V. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols. Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, Ithaca and London 1967, pp. 19—58; idem, *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure*, Harmondsworth 1974, orig. publ. 1969, *passim*, and esp. pp. 48—9; M. Douglas, *Natural Symbols*, Harmondsworth 1973, orig. publ. 1970, *passim*; R. Needham, *Symbolic Classification*, Santa Monica, California 1979, *passim*. Participants are not necessarily conscious of all (the many) meanings of each symbol (cf. Turner, *Forest of Symbols*, pp. 25—7, 38—47). Collective attitudes encoded in, and revealed through, rituals: M. Wilson, "Nyakyusa Ritual and Symbolism", in J. Middleton, ed., *Myth and Cosmos*, New York 1967, p. 166; L.-V. Thomas, "Mort et langage en Occident", *ASocR* 39, 1975, pp. 46, 49. On methodology, cf. also *Celeb.*, p. 98; *CaC*, p. 96.

[23] Cf., *mutatis mutandis*, the situation in the Middle Ages, when in the ritual corresponding to the 'Tamed Death' model the role of the Church was limited, and the burial procession wholly lay: Ariès, *L'h.*, pp. 146—7.

[24] On self-aggression as a manifestation of grief, cf. W. Burkert, *Homo Necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen*, Berlin and New York 1972, pp. 64—5.

death, the *psyche* leaves the body and flies away—eventually to Hades—, the *thymos* departs, never to be heard of again, and only the decomposing corpse remains, whose sinews have ceased to hold flesh and bones together.[25] Death also separates the deceased from life, the survivors and the community, and the latter from their previous normality. The separation of death is also enacted ritually on the corpse—perceived both as corpse, decomposing matter symbolizing death and corruption (cf. *Od.* 11.218—22; *Il.* 24.50—4), and as a metonymic sign for the whole dead person.[26] The acts of washing, anointing and clothing it in clean clothes form a tripartite separation rite. This we may deduce from the identical meaning which these acts have in other Greek rites of passage (cf. e.g. initiation and marriage), as in rites of passage in general.[27] When the men filthy themselves they are taking on dirt as a symbol, and a material manifestation, of the pollution which attaches to death.[28] This representation of the metaphysical idea of pollution in material terms allows the abstract concept to be externalized and manipulated, first embraced and eventually removed, in a manner which accords well with other known manifestations of Greek pollution mentality.[29] The concept of pollution is itself a conceptual and ritual mechanism for articulating boundaries and so adjusting to, and coping with, dangerous states. In this case, it achieves this by channelling, externalizing and articulating the trauma, danger, fear and disorder which follow death, and so also articulating the limits of death's encroachment into life and the boundaries between life and death. In this process, the material symbolization of self-defilement provided symbolic concentration and allowed the mourners to act out acceptance and embracing of pollution and death, of which pollution is a symbolic attribute, in a manner that made it possible for them to eventually reverse the process and reject pollution and death.[30] The self-aggression displayed by the women takes the more extreme form of self-wounding, combined with disarrangement of dress and flinging themselves on the corpse. The latter act is not an uncontrolled emotional gesture, but repeated, prescribed behaviour, which, we saw, universally involves not spontaneous shows of emotion, but regulated symbols for channelling and expressing traumatic feelings caused by death. This, then, was not a piece of personal behaviour, but a socially meaningful symbolic act. It provided emotional release for the grief which it amplified while discharging, and asserted the ties between mourner and deceased. But also, it brought the women into intimate physical contact with the corpse which was also the symbol of death and corruption. Thus death is again embraced, here very directly. Disarrangement of dress, in Greek mentality a sign of disorder, expressed the assumption of disorder (cf. e.g. Eur., *Phoen.* 1485—92).[30a] Self-wounding provides emotional release, externalizes grief and the symbolic separation and, as in other cultures, expresses a symbolic, partial identification with the deceased, objectifying the stated wish to join him. It is, then, another manifestation of the mourners' embracing of death.[31] Clearly, the women's embracing of death, corruption, disorder and pollution here is much more extreme and direct than the men's. This is related to the Greek mentality which associates women with disorder, danger and pollution, so that the female-male opposition represents symbolically the oppositions between these states and their opposites.[32] Hence, the values of disorder, pollution, danger and death expressed in this first phase are reinforced by the women's dominant role—seen both in their intense embracing of death, and in the fact that they wash, anoint and clothe the corpse, thus manipulating the focus of pollution and death.[33] In this phase, then, the dominant theme is separation, expressing the separation of death. The values and attitudes manifested are: separation, trauma and grief (mixed with anger), pollution, disorder, death. The pattern of ritual be-

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[25] Cf. *Od.* 11.217—22; cf. also J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Conception of the Soul*, published doctoral thesis, Univ. of Amsterdam 1979, pp. 68—71.

[26] Metonymic sign: in Leach's terminology (*CaC*, esp. p. 31). The same double perception probably underlies contemporary 'ambivalence' towards the corpse; cf. Stannard (supra n. 1), pp. 130—1.

[27] In general: A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, London and Henley 1960, orig. publ. 1909, p. 164. In Greece: A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi*, Rome 1969, pp. 200, 376—7; Burkert, *GR*, p. 133, cf. also pp. 130, 135.

[28] *Il.* 23.40—7, among other instances (cf. *GGrR*, pp. 91—2), makes clear, even outside our analysis, that pollution did indeed attach to death in Homer, a fact which is sometimes doubted. On Greek ideas and practices concerning pollution, cf. esp. Burkert, *GR*, pp. 129—42; *GGrR* pp. 89—110; and the forthcoming publication of Dr. R.C.T. Parker's Oxford doctoral thesis on pollution. On the concept of pollution, cf. M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, Harmondsworth 1970, orig. publ. 1966.

[29] On material symbolization, cf. *CaC*, pp. 37—8; in Greek purification practices: cf. Burkert, *GR*, pp. 137—8.

[30] Cf. also Douglas (supra n. 28), pp. 207—10.

[30a] For Andromache casting down her head-dress on Hector's death, cf. also J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death*, Oxford 1980, p. 2.

[31] For other cultures, cf. e.g. R.F. Salisbury, "The Siane of the Eastern Highlands", in P. Lawrence and M.J. Meggitt, eds., *Gods Ghosts and Men in Melanesia. Some Religions of Australian New Guinea and the New Hebrides*, Melbourne 1965, p. 63.

[32] Cf. J.P. Gould, "Law, custom and myth: aspects of the social position of women in classical Athens", *JHS* 100, 1980, *passim*, esp. pp. 57—8; cf. also my *Theseus as son and stepson. A tentative illustration of the Greek mythological mentality*, London 1979 (*BICS, Suppl.* 40), pp. 9—10. For the methodological point, cf. *CaC*, p. 96.

[33] Except for Patroklos' corpse, washed by the Myrmidons (*Il.* 18.346—55), reflecting the army camp assumption of kinship roles by companions—though men never lacerated themselves; this was done for Patroklos by captive women, esp. Briseis. Sarpedon's corpse is washed, anointed and clothed by Apollo (*Il.* 16.679—80).

haviour consists in accepting and embracing death and playing up its symbolic attributes.[34]

During the second phase, the *prothesis,* the shade is in a transitional state, between the upper world and Hades.[35] Now the community visits to 'look at' the corpse and pay its respects, and a formal, well-orchestrated lament takes place. At Hector's *prothesis,* involving a 'normal' community, two groups 'lead the lament', male professional singers[36] and kinswomen. The former began and were answered by a wail from a chorus of women; then the closest female relatives led the lament, each in turn singing a solo, and were similarly answered. Andromache, who began, clasped Hector's head as she sang. Patroklos' chief mourner, Achilles, held his hands on the corpse's breasts as he led the lament. This army community had no professional singers or kinswomen. A wake took place during the *prothesis,* with lamentations through the night. The *prothesis,* then, represents a transitional period of adjustment to the death and temporary suspension in a state of abnormality, disorder, grief, pollution and death,[37] corresponding to the transitional state of the shade between life and this world and Hades. The act of 'looking at' the corpse, said to be important in *Il.* 24.35—7, helps to take in, and face up to, the death, and so begin to adjust to it. The focus of the lament and mourning is the corpse—still seen as both decomposing death symbol and metonymic sign for the deceased. The chief mourner's intimate physical contact with the corpse is a controlled, calmer version of throwing oneself on it: an emotion-releasing act, a symbolic embracing of, and assertion of the ties with, the deceased who has still not been separated from the community, and also again a symbolic embracing of death. The viewing of the corpse involved, besides adjustment, 'payment of respects', an expression of the ties which bound the deceased to the community.[38] So, at one level, this viewing represents an articulation, in ritual terms, of the social persona of the deceased. Mourning gestures performed before the corpse, and lamentation, which (at least in the case of the solos which are included in the epics) praised the deceased and expressed the grief and loss generated by his death, also contained this element of setting out, articulating verbally and ritually, the deceased's social persona.[38a] This articulation 'places' the deceased within the structure of the family and the community prior to his separation from them, when, after the burial, they will regroup without him. The values expressed in the second phase of the ritual are, then, again, disorder, abnormality, grief and death. But the way in which they are expressed has changed. The ritual acts are now formalized and patterned, and this introduces, through the structure of the ritual behaviour, an element of order. Another element of order appears at the level of the content, the ordering operation involved in articulating the deceased's social persona and the relationships between deceased and survivors. So the ritual behaviour in this phase still expresses acceptance of death, but in a formalized and contained form. Death's encroachment on the community is articulated and ordered (and to some extent adjusted to) as a preliminary to its severance.

The third phase, the burial ceremony, is itself tripartite, comprising the *ekphora,* the cremation and/or rites at the grave, and the burial of the bones or corpse.[39] The *ekphora* took place in the daytime, soon after dawn. Obviously, Patroklos' funeral (*Il.* 23.128 ff.) is both exceptional in scale (the epic is conflating and magnifying) and coloured by its war camp context. The corpse, carried by his companions, head supported by Achilles, was covered with the hair which the mourners had cut off and thrown over it. At the place of cremation Achilles also cut off his hair and put it in Patroklos' hand. After a collective lamentation, most of the Achaeans disperse, only those responsible for burying Patroklos remain. They light the pyre and place the corpse on it. This distinction should be significant, for collective representations, beliefs and practices constitute the parameters within which a poet's—and especially an oral, epic, poet's—creativity operates. If it is significant, it means, translated into normal community terms, a distinction between the family, whose duty it is to bury the dead, and the wider community. Achilles' offerings and sacrifices on the pyre have been amply discussed and I have nothing to add (cf. n. 39). When, at dawn, the fire dies down, the wider community returns, and the

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[34] Embracing death to 'soften' its effects is also known in other societies: cf. Douglas (supra n. 28), pp. 208—9.

[35] Shade: *Il.* 23.64—76. Prothesis, mourners, lament: *Il.* 24.720 ff.; 18.314 ff., 354 ff.; cf. *Il.* 24.35—7; M. Alexiou, *The ritual lament in Greek tradition,* Cambridge 1974, pp. 12—4; 102—3; K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften,* Basle and Stuttgart 1975, pp. 333—8. G. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art,* Göteborg 1971 (SIMA vol. 32); *GBC,* pp. 58—61; J. Boardman, "Painted funerary plaques and some remarks on prothesis", *BSA* 50, 1955, pp. 51—66; *AG,* pp. 66—76.

[36] Or perhaps—whether they reflect 8th cent. practices or the memory of an earlier reality—persons with magical, shamanistic, skills: cf. W. Burkert, "Γόης. Zum griechischen Schamanismus", *RhM* N.S. 105, 1962, p. 45.

[37] Cf. van Gennep (supra n. 27), pp. 148—9; R. Hertz, *Death and the Right Hand,* Aberdeen 1960, pp. 29—53.

[38] Cf. Hertz (supra n. 37), pp. 76—8.

[38a] On mourning and lament as articulation of the deceased's personality, cf. also J.M. Redfield, *Nature and Culture in the Iliad: the Tragedy of Hector,* Chicago and London 1975, p. 180.

[39] *Il.* 23.155 ff., 249 ff.; 24.790 ff. Cf. also Andronikos, pp. 21—32, 88—91, 92, 93—6; *GBC,* pp. 58, 64—7, and 39—40, 61—4; *DAG,* pp. 192 and 150; Burkert, *GR,* pp. 296—7; idem, *Homo Necans* (supra n. 24), pp. 65—6. On the problems of interpreting grave-offerings, cf. P.J. Ucko, "Ethnography and archaeological interpretation of funerary remains", *World Archaeology* 1, 1969, pp. 262—80. On burnt offerings and the mentality behind the practice, cf. *CaC,* p. 83.

men closest to the deceased (in Hector's case his brothers and *hetaroi: Il.* 24.793—4) collect and bury the bones and erect a mound over the grave (*Il.* 23.249—57; 24.792—801). Then, in Hector's funeral, the funeral banquet is held in Priam's palace (*Il.* 24.801—3). But in *Il.* 24.664 ff., Hector's funeral feast, still in the future, is placed after the burial but before the erection of the mound, probably describing a feast at the grave, of the kind that is archaeologically attested.[40] In Patroklos' case, it is funeral games in his honour that are held after the erection of the mound, not a banquet. Funeral games[41] were held for exceptional dead, but it has been suggested that some kind of contest, e.g. a boxing match, may have been a regular part of the death-ritual. Patroklos' funeral banquet was held at an earlier stage, around the corpse in the course of the *prothesis* (*Il.* 23.29—34). In the mass funerals of *Il.* 7.421—36, the feasts are held after the burial through the night (lines 476—7), at Troy and in the Greek camp. Hesiod (*Op.* 735) mentions funeral banquets without specifying location and timing (cf. also *Od.* 3.309—10). This, and other variabilities make clear, on internal evidence alone, that conflation of material from different practices has taken place. Archaeology has proved that Homeric burial customs are conflated.[42] However, unlike the position of the funeral feast, most of the elements affected (e.g. type of grave, scale of offerings) belong to facets of burial behaviour which appear not to depend on, or interact with, social attitudes to death—at least as regards the latter's basic aspects, to which alone we have access. So they do not concern us here. Because of the nature of the practices, archaeology offers limited information on relevant features to serve as control for the Homeric material. Thus it informs us that a funeral meal was consumed at the grave (n. 40). Further, the Geometric pots decorated with scenes of *prothesis* and *ekphora* which served as grave-markers can help us cross-check our reconstruction of early Greek attitudes, despite the doubts that may still remain as to whether they depict contemporary life or 'idealized' representations modelled on the heroic past (cf. n. 35). For in either case, it is significant for the death-related mentality of that society that the 'images of death' people chose to mark their graves were not personal individualized images of whatever kind—contrast, for example, for images of 'self' the archaic reliefs, and for personal images of death (here not on grave-markers) the Charon and deceased scenes on white-ground lekythoi. What they chose[43] were 'public' images of death, in which death (perhaps one's own) was represented in terms of the death of the social persona, through the public rituals by which the community as well as the family reacted to the death and dispatched the shade to Hades. I suggest that the 'public' approach to one's death manifested in this choice reveals a perception of death which confirms our argument that in the Dark Age model of attitudes still dominant in the 8th cent. the public/social dimension predominated: death was a public event, and even one's own death was perceived in 'social' terms, a manifestation of the individual discontinuity necessary for the life-cycle of the community and the species which alone validated the individual existence.[44]

The Homeric *ekphora* always occurs in the daytime, a consistency suggesting that this trait remained unchanged in the period 'covered' by the epics. Since the burial procession went through the community's life-space, this entails toleration of death's disruption of, and encroachment on, community life. By contrast, in archaic and classical times, after the attitudes had shifted somewhat, private funerals occurred at night, before sunrise.[45] Conceivably, the interdiction to wail aloud during the funerals of the war-dead attributed to Priam in *Il.* 7.427—8 reflects an incipient 8th cent. trend to restrict this encroachment a little. Certainly, archaic and classical legislation imposed silence during the *ekphora*.[46] Other Homeric evidence is ambiguous as regards lament during the *ekphora* (cf. *Il.* 24.785 ff.; cf. also 23.134—7), but in conflict with the 'interdiction' regarding behaviour at the place of cremation: in Patroklos' funeral lament oc-

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[40] *AG*, p. 35; *DAG*, p. 379; Snodgrass (supra n. 6), p. 124; J. Boardman, "Attic Geometric Vase Scenes, Old and New", *JHS* 86, 1966, p. 2.

[41] *Il.* 23.257 ff.; Hes. *Op.* 654—7; cf. *GBC*, pp. 202—3; K. Meuli, *Der griechische Agon*, Cologne 1968; Redfield (supra n. 38*a*), pp. 204—9.

[42] *DAG*, p. 391; Snodgrass (supra n. 6), pp. 122—3.

[43] For it was society's requirements and values that determined the product, and so helped shape the iconography of Geometric figure style (cf. *AG*, p. 67).

[44] Another theme depicted on pots apparently marking men's graves, battles and sea-battles, again relates to the self's social persona. The 8th cent. 'public images of death' did not disappear after this period, any more than the associated funerary attitudes did. They continued in the painted plaques with funerary scenes which decorated built tombs (cf. Boardman, supra n. 35); G.M.A. Richter, "Terracotta plaques from Early Attic Tombs", *BMetrMus* N.S. 1, 1942—3, pp. 80—92; *GBC*, p. 83), though their relative importance in the nexus of images marking the grave diminished. And even in the plaques, there is eventually a shift to a less public and more family-centered, inward-looking representation of *prothesis*, as the series plaques are replaced by the single version.

[45] Cf. [Dem.] 43.62; Vermeule (supra n. 14), p. 18; *GBC*, p. 144 and pl. 37; cf. also S.C. Humphreys, "Family tombs and tomb cult in ancient Athens: tradition or traditionalism?", *JHS* 100, 1980, pp. 99—100.

[46] Cf. *infra*. Given the synoptical character of Greek iconography (cf. N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Erzählung und Figur in der archaischen Kunst*, Abh. Mainz 1967, 2, pp. 73—100) the black-figure representation of an *ekphora* with lament (cf. *GBC*, p. 145; Alexiou, supra n. 35, p. 7) does not necessarily contradict this. It is uncertain whether the depiction of mourning gestures suggestive of lament in some 8th cent. *ekphora* scenes is significant in this respect.

curs on arrival there (*Il.* 23.138—55). The possibility that Homer was purposefully contrasting Greek and Trojan behaviour rather than reporting different practices, cannot be discounted. But it is more likely that the alleged interdiction indicates divergent behaviour, perhaps even the poet's awareness of the conflict between practices described in the traditional material and contemporary ones. Like all aspects of Homeric conflation, awareness of contradictions or lack of it depended on the successive poets' own mentality and (in this case) death attitudes, through which the received material was perceived. Possibly, then, the tendency to restrict death's obtrusion in the community's life had already begun, tentatively, in the 8th century.

The *ekphora* is a separation rite: the corpse, and through it, symbolically, the deceased, especially his social persona, is removed from his house and the community's life space. His family, friends and others also separate themselves, temporarily, from the community's life-space, to accompany him to the liminal space: the place of cremation and/or grave, the corpse's final destination and the space through which the shade will reach Hades.[47] But the mourners also begin to separate themselves from the deceased through the ritual gesture of cutting their hair and throwing it on the corpse. Cutting one's hair is a mourning gesture in many societies, but there is no universality about its significance.[48] So we must consider its significance in Greek ritual. It was, we find, a separation rite performed during rites of passage, especially initiation and marriage; the hair was then usually dedicated, to deities with kourotrophic or marriage-protection functions or to heroes.[49] This offering finalized and sanctified the separation and change of status; it was also a gift to the supernatural being of an object seen as metonymically related to the self; this entailed that the dedication protected that rejected part of the self from dangers which could have 'magically' harmed the self, while creating, and symbolizing, a closer relationship between devotee and deity/hero, and so ensuring the latter's protection. Given this nexus of ideas and functions associated with the gesture, its performance in the death-ritual condensed the following meanings. First, separation. Through the process of material symbolization the hair which the mourner cuts off and offers to the deceased represents his (social) ties with the deceased which are thus symbolically severed, so also—since it is performed by all those affected—cutting off the dead from the living and the community.[50] Unlike gods and heroes, the recipient here is one of the parties to the severance. As with supernatural beings, the other side is that a part of oneself is offered as a gift to the dead to take with him (*Il.* 23.151), a concrete personal representation of the relationship and a symbolic accompaniment in sympathy to Hades. This last notion was perhaps reinforced by the diminished, 'mild', self-mutilation aspect of the gesture. Finally, the absent hair was a 'sign' of mourning, testifying that a death affecting that person had taken place.

The second part of the burial ceremony consists of the cremation—when this rite is practised—and/or lament, sacrifices, if any, libations, offerings (cf. n. 39). In the last phase, the bones—or corpse—were put away under the earth accompanied by grave gifts. Much has been written about the latter and no comment is needed here, except that one of the motivational nexuses operating is, again, the desire to articulate the deceased's social persona, now in a 'frozen', material form by means of objects (by means of their type, quantity, quality, etc., hence the 'occupational grave goods'). The closing of the tomb marks the deceased's final separation from the world of the living and the integration of every element in its appropriate place. The shade is incorporated in Hades, the corpse/bones in the earth with which it belongs—for after the *psyche* and *thymos* have left, what remains is κωφὴ γαῖα (cf. *Il.* 24.54)—, the community returns to normality (cf. *Il.* 23.50—3). This is marked by further rites, of incorporation, especially the funeral banquet and the funeral games. The banquet was important in early Greek life, as the main vehicle for social intercourse and the reinforcement of group solidarity.[51] So the banquet after burial was an incorporation rite expressing and reinforcing the return to normality and the reintegration of the social group. It asserted the values of life and vitality (through eating, a primary biological function), and of group solidarity, as well as being a last 'payment of respects' to

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[47] Graves as liminal spaces: *CaC*, p. 82.

[48] E.R. Leach, "Magical Hair", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 88, 1958, pp. 149—64; *CaC*, p. 61; *Celeb.*, pp. 45—6. In Greek funerary rites: *GGrR*, pp. 180—1; Andronikos, p. 20 with bibliography. Homer: *Il.* 23.135—6, 141—51; *Od.* 4.197—8.

[49] Cf. Brelich (supra n. 27), pp. 115, 447; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, p. 234; *GGrR*, pp. 136—8; Andronikos, p. 20; J. Bremmer, "Heroes, rituals and the Trojan War", *Studi storico-religiosi* 2, 1978, pp. 24—7. Cf. also *CaC*, pp. 30—1, for the 'magical' mentality in which a person can be harmed through his severed hair.

[50] Thus some kind of purification can be said to have occurred, aspect often said to be common in the gesture (cf. *CaC*, p. 61). Cf. E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion*, Oxford and New York 1956, p. 152, for a parallel for the severance of ties with the dead meaning.

[51] Cf. Hes. *Op.* 722—3; O. Murray, *Early Greece*, Brighton 1980, pp. 49—50; M.I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London 1956, pp. 144—6; Griffin (supra n. 30*a*), pp. 16—7 and O. Murray's paper in this volume. On incorporation rites, cf. van Gennep (supra n. 27), pp. 164—5. Boardman's tentative suggestion (supra n. 40, p. 5) that the post-burial rites at the grave may have included the production of noise with percussion instruments would fit the widespread occurrence of percussion noises in transition rites, esp. funerals (cf. *Celeb.*, pp. 48—50).

the dead by the community as he was incorporated in Hades.[52] Its different positions in the epic, at the grave or at home, reflect different practices expressing different attitudes. The feast at the grave is another manifestation of the familiarity with death and its physical aspect characterizing the 'accepting', 'traditional', model: the proximity of the decaying remains ensures that the physical reality of death and of the deceased remain central. The transfer of the funeral meal away from the grave and into the home, where it is regularly consumed in archaic and classical times, reflects a distancing from the physical reality of death. The epic suggests that this move, and the attitude it reflects, may have begun in the 8th century.[53] Patroklos' funeral feast (*Il.* 23.29—34), held around the corpse during the *prothesis,* undoubtedly reflects a custom practised some time during the development of the epic, for the poet who placed it there—whoever that was—would not have done so unless this position were in accordance with burial behaviour known to him. Its significance was different from that of the banquet held after burial: it expressed the survivors' ties with the dead, rather than those among the members of the reconstructed group after the burial. The funeral games, held in honour of exceptional dead, aristocrats, and undoubtedly involving other aristocrats, were probably a reintegration rite of the aristocratic group at inter-community level, expressing group solidarity through competition, the competitive ethos of Dark Age and 8th century aristocrats (which presumably encompassed the poetry competitions known for the end of the 8th cent.), vitality, and warlike prowess.[54] The values and attitudes, then, expressed in the ritual's third phase are, separation from death (and of the dead from the living), normality and order, group solidarity and community ties, life, vitality. The ritual behaviour expresses rejection of death and disorder, reinstatement of order, assertion of life, and play-up of group ties and community continuity. This, then,[55] is a well-orchestrated, high-intensity ritual in which people first externalize the trauma, accept and embrace death, then adjust to it, and eventually exorcize it and reestablish order and normality. This intense acceptance and embracing of grief and death, regulated adjustment and rejection, are an emotionally effective mechanism for coping with bereavement, provided the support of a larger group is available in two ways. First, if society is prepared to tolerate the disruption and encroachment of death in the community's life that this high-intensity ritual entails. Second, if the emotional burden is shared by a larger group than the immediate family, for this allows an emotional tone which would have been too high for a small group to bear.[56] But also, this ritual embracing of grief and death depends on, and indicates, a type of collective attitude in which death is familiar, hateful, but not really frightening, and in which physical contact with corpses is not abhorrent, and death is not kept at a distance. And conversely, the close contact with corpses and death at the ritual sustained and reinforced this familiar attitude, as the whole ritual reinforced the familiar acceptance of death by reasserting it periodically at moments of crisis—deaths. But already in Homer there are some signs of change. Community involvement was perhaps becoming less of a routine aspect of the ritual, at least in Ionia, where urbanization had started early. This is suggested by the fact that Homer (*Il.* 19.301—2, 337—8; 24.166—8) felt the need to comment on the grief assumed and expressed by people not directly affected, which the traditional epic material described. In the small Dark Age villages, where every individual was important for the survival of the vulnerable and depopulated community, community life was *de facto* disrupted by each death, and each dead person had inevitably had social relationships with all the survivors which needed severing and adjustment. Thus the whole community was *de facto* involved in each death-ritual. And each generation experienced closely the birth and death of others,[57] so that death was indeed familiar, and the notion of each individual death as part of the life-cycle of the community which lives on through the generations was a living reality. But urbanization and the rise of the city-state, the break-

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[52] Communal meals after funerals as incorporation rites: van Gennep (supra n. 27), p. 164. Life and vitality values at funerals: Wilson (supra n. 22), pp. 152—3, 158, 162; *Celeb.*, pp. 39, 108—16.

[53] Transfer from grave to home: cf. Burkert, *GR*, p. 297; held at home: *GBC*, p. 146; cf. esp. Hegesippus fr. 1.11—2 Edmonds, Kiii.12. On funeral meals, cf. also n. 40; Burkert (supra n. 24), pp. 61—3; A.D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. by Z. Stewart, Oxford 1972, vol. II, p. 589.

[54] If a contest was regularly held at funerals, similar values, in a non-aristocratic version, would have been involved. Compare the Greek games and contest with the Nyakyusa funeral war-dance: Wilson (supra n. 22), pp. 152—3, 162; *Celeb.*, p. 36.

[55] Through the games and in other ways (e.g. number and quality of grave-goods) the death-ritual of a Dark Age community leader was differentiated from the rest; presumably, the more important the community, and the leader, the greater the differentiation. The newly discovered Lefkandi structure represents a quantitative rather than qualitative leap, an amazing increase in scale in the burial monument of some exceptional leader. A leader's death affects society deeply (cf. Berger and Luckmann, supra n. 11, p. 121), and this is normally expressed symbolically in the death-ritual. Naturally, the extent of this depends on the sociopolitical system and the leader's function and position. In Sparta (Hdt. 6.58) there is maximum and compulsory involvement. But we cannot extrapolate from this and draw conclusions about the smaller and less complex earlier communities, though the intensity of the Trojans' grief over Hector' death may be reflecting such a notion.

[56] Cf. G. Gorer, *Death, Grief and Mourning*, New York 1965, pp. 83—91; Stannard (supra n. 1), p. 132.

[57] A child in a 8th cent. burial procession: Boardman (supra n. 40), p. 3.

up of the old structures, the greater mobility and dislocation, led to a loosening of community involvement in each death, so that the burden shifted increasingly onto the family—except for aristocrats, who could call upon others to provide support.[58] These changes in the physical and conceptual framework which had supported the familiar approach to death began to affect that approach, hence the first hints of change detectable in the 8th century.

Given the significance and function of the death-ritual, which, *inter alia*, valorized the deceased's life, and reflected, and represented symbolically, the perception of each death as a moment in the history of the family and the community, whose continuity gave meaning to individual discontinuity, it is natural that an extremely high value should be attached to its performance. Proper burial, mourning and lament, 'the due of the dead' (*Il.* 16.456—7, 671—5; 23.9; *Od.* 4.193—8) are the *sine qua non* of a good death. The eschatological equivalent of this is the belief that a shade cannot enter Hades until after burial, after the community, through the completion of the death-ritual, has properly separated the shade from the upper world and dispatched it to the lower (cf. *Il.* 23.137). So, as in other societies with death attitudes of the 'familiar' type, bad death is death away from the community and/or one's friends, a lonely and unseen death, like that at sea.[59] The elements making up this concept are also mentioned separately: dying away from home, or without farewells, or unmourned or unburied (cf. *Il.* 11.816—8; 22.82—9; 24.33 ff., 742—5). Burial was especially important. To die unassisted by one's community, without the prescribed rites, to lie unburied and rotting, is an emotionally traumatic notion and a death unmediated and unprotected by society's defences, the death of a wild animal.[59a] This is expressed through the image of one's unburied corpse being eaten by dogs and birds (*Il.* 11.394—5; 15.347—51; 2.391—3; 1.2—5; 22.59—76; 11.451—4; *Od.* 3.256—61), or, more rarely, in water, fish and eels (*Il.* 21.122 ff., 201 ff.), in which nature at its most savage disposes of the body.

Good death in battle is another facet of the concept of good death, but it is beyond my present scope to discuss it, except to note that a good death which wins glory ensures one's 'survival' in memory. Another (the main) route to continuing 'existence'—other than in Hades—, a way of leaving one's mark behind which was open to all, was through sons who plugged the self into the biological/social stream of the generations.[60] Memory survival, the survival of one's social persona in the collective memory of the community, or through song, of many communities, is only open to exceptional men, and in terms of class confined to the aristocracy. In one version of memory-survival, which is rather rare in the epics, and probably more recent, a person's memory is focussed on, or reinforced by, his grave monument (cf. *Il.* 11.371—2; *Od.* 11.71—8). In a more complex variant (*Il.* 7.85—90) one's victim's grave is expected to preserve one's own memory. Since Dark Age and 8th century grave-markers gave little information about the deceased, the idea must be that one's memory will survive within the community, focussed on, and strengthened by, the grave monument. Not, as with the more individualized archaic and classical grave monuments, that the monument itself will preserve the memory, recording one's life and death. Elpenor's request (*Od.* 11.71—8) to have his oar fixed on his grave mound involves a grave-marker which, signalling his role, gives more individualized information than just the sex and status indicated by Dark Age and 8th century grave-markers known to us. Of course, Elpenor's, made of wood, would not have survived. But it appears true that, generally, there was a trend towards greater individualization as time went on, which accelerated sharply in archaic times.

The conclusions reached so far gain some confirmation from the independent consideration of the archaeological evidence for Dark Age and 8th century burial customs. Despite great regional variations in these customs, there are some common trends in the main categories of thought determining burial behaviour, categories which reveal the underlying social attitudes to death. Two facets are especially important here: the question of intramural *versus* extramural burial, and the dimensional distinctions recognized at burial. In both, we observe certain trends in the Dark Ages and certain changes in the 8th century which accelerate rapidly in archaic times. In my opinion, this nexus of burial behaviour, starting situations and changes, reveals, when decoded, the same collective attitudes to death already proposed here. And conversely, only this explanation, as far as I can see, can account for the totality of this burial behaviour, and the further changes in the archaic period.

In the 5th century intramural burial is almost unknown outside Sparta and Taras, except for children and a few exceptional individuals like city-founders; but in the Dark Ages extramural and intramural burial, of adults as well as children, are practised side by side, while in the 8th century, with growing urbaniz-

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[58] Obligation to mourn members of a dominant group: Tyrtaios fr. 7 West; Demon *FGrH* 327 F19; Hippias of Erythrai *FGrH* 421F1. In our case it would be more in the nature of a client-patron service. Cf. also Humphreys (supra n. 45), p. 101.

[59] Cf. *Od.* 1.236—43; 5.306—12. Cf. also a similar concept in Ariès' 'tamed death' model: *L'h.*, pp. 18—20. Cf. also *Il.* 21.273—83. On death-rituals and the continuity of the community, cf. Burkert (supra n. 24), p. 67.

[59a] Cf. also Redfield (supra n. 38*a*), p. 199.

[60] Cf., e.g., an illustration: *Od.* 11.458—60, 492—537. For a similar attitude, cf. Evans-Pritchard (supra n. 50), pp. 162—3.

ation and the development of the *polis*, extramural burial begins to become the norm. This trend grew in the archaic age, when burial within the settlement was apparently forbidden by law.[61] Even if, as seems likely, the earlier trend towards extramural burial was urbanistically inspired, shortage of space within the city is too simplistic an explanation for the disappearance of intramural burial. As in Western Europe, when the suspension of intramural burial caused by changes in the collective attitudes to death masqueraded as concern for hygiene,[62] this disappearance must be related to the weakening familiarity towards death and increasing fear and repugnance observed in other aspects of archaic funerary behaviour. The fear and repugnance were expressed through the—inherited but flexible—concept of pollution which now hardened (cf. *infra*). The physical distancing from the dead resulting from the increase in extramural burials reinforced the shift from the familiar attitudes, thus accelerating the tendency to remove burials from the settlement, which again strengthened the recession of familiarity, and so on. There is interesting evidence concerning Sparta. According to Plut., *Vit. Lyc.* xxvii, a Lycurgan law permitted intramural burial as a means of familiarizing youths with death, so that they do not shrink from it, fearing that they would become polluted if they touched a corpse or trod on a grave. We cannot know which part of this report was incorporated in the law, and so reflects 7th cent. attitudes;[63] but we do know that intramural burial was indeed customary in archaic and classical Sparta.[64] Lycurgan legislation used and adapted elements of an earlier social system to serve new purposes, above all the transformation of Spartan citizens into an elite warrior corps. Here it tried to restore to those citizens the familiarity with death characteristic of the earlier society, and so check and reverse the growing trend towards death-avoidance—Tyrtaios, we shall see, was operating along similar lines. Since the earlier attitude was perceived as linked with the physical proximity to the dead ensuing from intramural burial, the legislator set out to recreate the earlier circumstances in order to generate the old death attitude. This, if right, shows that early Greek mentality connected intramural burial with diminished death-avoidance, which supports the thesis that the accelerating archaic trend towards extramural burial is a manifestation of shifts in attitudes to death. Consequently, there are strong reasons for believing that the Dark Age and, to some extent, 8th cent., indifference to intramural burial is indeed a facet of the familiar and accepting set of death-related attitudes.

Two changes in the dimensional distinctions recognized at burial can be observed in the 8th cent.[65] First, a tendency appears all over Greece, to incorporate graves into groups, family-plots.[66] The second concerns the differential burial of children. Small children's deaths affected only the close family, for they have no social persona and almost no extra-familial social relationships—except for some children in stratified societies where position is inherited. So when the death-ritual focusses on the social persona and involves the community as well as the family, there is a sharp differentiation between child and adult-burials, the former being unobtrusive and private, the latter obtrusive and public.[67] Most Greek Dark Age communities practised such differential burial of children, though the manner of the differentiation was subject to regional variations.[68] This differential burial, then, fits our thesis of social persona-focus, community participation, and normality-disruption in the earlier death-ritual, especially since the differentiation diminishes progressively from the 8th century onwards. I must stress that the validity of the hypothesis—of the confirmation provided for my central analysis by changes in this differential burial—is not affected by the fact that some Dark Age communities did not differentiate child-burials. For differential child-burial apparently reflects a situation in which the deceased's social persona as perceived by

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[61] For an excellent discussion of Dark Age and 8th cent. intramural and extramural burial, cf. R. Hägg, *Die Gräber der Argolis in submykenischer, protogeometrischer und geometrischer Zeit* 1, Uppsala 1974 (Boreas 7, 1), pp. 87—91. Cf. also *GBC*, pp. 70, 188—9; R.S. Young, "Sepulturae intra urbem", *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pp. 67—134; *DAG*, pp. 147, 150, 152, 154; C.K. Williams II and J.E. Fisher, "Corinth, 1972: the Forum area", *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 2—4; Burkert, *GR*, p. 295. On exceptional intramural burials: R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque. Étude d'histoire et d'architecture urbaines*, Paris 1951, pp. 194—201; C. Bérard, *Erétria. Fouilles et recherches* III: *L'hérôon à la porte de l'ouest*, Bern 1970, esp. ch. 5—6; *idem*, "Topographie et urbanisme de l'Érétrie archaïque: l'hérôon", *Erétria. Fouilles et recherches* VI, Bern 1978, pp. 89—95; cf. also: L.H. Jeffery, *Archaic Greece*, London and Tonbridge 1976, p. 65.

[62] Cf. Ariès, *L'h.*, pp. 468—93; idem, *ASocR* 1975 (supra n. 1), pp. 10, 12; Vovelle, *Mour.*, pp. 200—2.

[63] Date: W.G. Forrest, *A History of Sparta, 950—192 B.C.*, London 1980², pp. 55—8; Murray (supra n. 51), pp. 59—72.

[64] Cf. P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia. A Regional History 1300—362 B.C.*, London 1979, p. 174, cf. also p. 106; Jeffery (supra n. 61), p. 132 n. 9; Paus. 3.14.1—3.

[65] On dimensional distinctions, cf. Binford (supra n. 2), pp. 225—39.

[66] Cf. *DAG*, pp. 194—5; *GBC*, pp. 56, 180; Humphreys (supra n. 45), pp. 105—12; J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977, p. 136; J.M. Geroulanos, *AthMitt* 88, 1973, p. 1; D. Levi, "Iasos. Le campagne di scavo 1969—1970", *ASAtene* 31—32, 1969—70, p. 465 (cf. also Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, p. 97 for the date). The clustering of earlier Corinthian graves in groups, which Williams and Fisher (supra n. 61), pp. 2—4, interpret as family groups, family burials in the proximity of houses, is a 'natural' arrangement and need not betray the same conscious desire to stress the family-tie as the widespread 8th cent. trend towards family groupings in the larger cemeteries.

[67] Cf. Binford (supra n. 2), pp. 232—4.

[68] Cf. *GBC*, pp. 36, 173, 189—90, cf. 315; Coldstream (supra n. 66), pp. 46—7, 250; V.R. d'A. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages*, London 1972, p. 272; cf. also infra, n. 69.

the community is the dominant factor determining the death-ritual—rather than his membership of a kinship group, or his individuality, or affective ties—, but non-differential child-burial can reflect all types of situation. Rather, what is important, and in need of explaining, is the change, the tendency—which is most definite as well as best documented in Athens—towards a lesser differentiation of child-burials. I suggest that this can best be explained in the framework of the hypothesis put forward here. Until *c.* 760, almost all children in Athens were inhumed intramurally, sometimes under a house-floor—within the domain of the family which alone was involved in the death and burial. Adults were cremated or inhumed, depending on the fashion, and mostly buried in extramural cemeteries where child-burials are extremely rare. From *c.* 760 child interments become common in extramural cemeteries and no longer predominate among intramural ones.[69] Some differentiation in child-burials continues, in the type of grave, the lesser care, sometimes the differential location within the cemetery.

This change, I suggest, and the trend towards family groupings of graves, resulted from the combined effect of two phenomena. First, the shift of the burden of the death-ritual from community to family, or, for aristocrats, the family flanked by a supportive framework of 'clients' and perhaps peers. And second, a change in the circumstances of the aristocrats which is also responsible for the intensification of another dimensional distinction: the stronger signalling of status in 8th cent. aristocratic burials.[70] The aristocratic families who came together in the context of the new *poleis* had to define themselves as a 'class' and define the criteria for office-holding in the new sociopolitical framework. In Athens the criterion for office was membership in one of the *gene* that made up the Eupatridai. This entailed the reinforcement of the hereditary principle and assertion of membership of the (aristocratic) family group, and the family graves were used as a symbolic focus in process.[71] Hence the signalling of membership in the family group, probably originating with aristocrats for the reasons suggested and spreading to strata where family affiliation lacked this political significance because the *de facto* growing importance of the family in the death-ritual of the new *poleis* (corresponding to diminished community involvement) gave such family affiliation symbolic importance—which will then increase progressively. For it is the significant dimensions that are given differential recognition at burial (cf. n. 65). Also, in these circumstances, small aristocratic children acquired an important social persona as members of aristocratic families, who, again, probably initiated the change. The other, converging, factor leading to the weakening of differential treatment of child-burials is that, since burial was becoming more and more a family affair,[72] the family's evaluation of the child's death would have increasingly affected the burial. In archaic and classical times child-burials became progressively less differentiated as community involvement in funerals was diminishing. All this, I suggest, confirms the validity of the proposed model of death attitudes and its changes.

The change in social attitudes to death, which began tentatively in the 8th cent., and took definite shape in the archaic period, was not a radical transformation, but a partial shift. The earlier model lived on: in certain areas, circles and individuals it continued as a living reality, sometimes slightly altered, while elsewhere it became, as in the hands of Tyrtaios and Kallinos,[73] a consciously held and propagated ideological 'thesis', taken over from Homer, adapted, and put in the service of an emerging patriotic ideology glorifying death in the service of the *polis*. The shift in attitudes, broadly comparable to that in the Late Middle Ages (cf. n. 4) originated in aristocratic and intellectual circles. Its most important aspect concerns the perception of one's own death which now becomes more individual: the feeling of one's personal identity which death terminates becomes stronger than that of death as a collective phenomenon, part of the world's life-cycle. So death is now viewed with greater reluctance and anxiety, and there is greater concern for survival in memory[74] and hope for a happy afterlife. Also, a certain loss of familiarity and a desire to keep death away—for it now generates greater fear and actual revulsion. With these new collective attitudes are associated changes in funerary behaviour and eschatology, and it is through these observable changes that the shift in attitudes can be detected. I will now consider these changes, though space prevents me from doing so at appropriate length.

The most radical changes occur in eschatology.[75] The belief that death and Hades are inescapable is further weakened, as more and more heroes are believed to inhabit some kind of paradise, while Herakles gains *apotheosis*. The notion of the collective destiny of the shades is displaced by new beliefs, many

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[69] Cf. *DAG*, pp. 149—50,,198 n. 4; *GBC*, p. 55.

[70] Cf. Coldstream (supra n. 66), p. 137.

[71] Cf. *DAG*, p. 195. For archaic times, cf. Humphreys (supra n. 45), pp. 100—1, 123. On aristocrats and the criteria for office, cf. idem, *Anthropology and the Greeks*, London 1978, pp. 196—7.

[72] Cf. also Humphreys (supra n. 45), pp. 98—101, 122.

[73] Cf. Kallinos fr. 1 West, lines 5 ff.; Tyrtaios frs. 10, 11.3 ff.; 12.20 ff. West. Cf. also Murray (supra n. 51), pp. 128—31.

[74] Cf. infra on graves. In literature, cf. e.g. Sappho fr. 55 L-P; Theog. 237—47; Pind. *Ol.* 7.72—3, 91—4; cf. also Archil. fr. 133 West, where, as Lloyd-Jones remarks (supra n. 10, p. 39), the poet is not denying fame's value, but saying that the dead are not honoured as they should be.

[75] Cf. also the discussion in Burkert, *GR*, pp. 305—6, 446—7.

influenced by philosophical thought, involving individual salvation, a happy afterlife depending on moral behaviour and/or initiation to Mysteries or sects, and a judgement of the dead, followed by rewards or punishments for one's conduct in life. Then, the transition between life and death, 'automatic' in Homer, is elaborated and filled with reassuring images. Hermes Chthonios and Charon, who became rooted in the collective representations, emerge at this time, to guide the shades during the (now awe-inspiring) transition from life to death which is expanded and articulated in explicit and familiar, reassuring, terms: journey, payment of fee, etc. Apart from guides through, Hermes and Charon are also divine guarantors of, the margins between the upper world and Hades, life and death. This development testifies, not only to greater anxiety at the prospect of one's death now perceived primarily as an individual experience (cf. Anac., Page, *PoetMelGr* fr. 395.9—12), but also a greater concern to separate firmly the margins between life and death, ensuring that death is kept securely away. On the other hand, because the two worlds are now more sharply and securely distinguished, controlled access of the dead to the upper world is tolerated, so that the descent to Hades has lost a little of its finality. Somewhat related in mentality to this nexus of mythological representations is the (relative) popularity of *katabaseis* in archaic literature, which betrays a concern to articulate the unseeable and frightening realm of death in concrete—and in some cases hopeful—images, and so come to terms with it. A similar desire to come to terms with (a different aspect of) death undoubtedly lies behind the popularity of the macabre themes centering on corpse decomposition in the Late Middle Ages.[76]

The more individual, and anxious, perception of death, and the other attitudes that accompany it, are also expressed by some poets and philosophers, often stating a personal view, sometimes reporting collective attitudes. The former is no less significant than the latter as a testimony to the frontiers of change, the new fluctuation parameters of social attitudes to death,[77] the shift which, in any case began and predominated, in aristocratic and intellectual circles. I can only give a few samples of such literary expressions. A notion contrasting sharply to the earlier combination of passionate love of life and acceptance of man's lot is that according to which it is best not to be born, and once born to die as soon as possible: [Theog.] 425—8; cf. also Soph. *OC* 1224 ff.; Eur. frs. 285; 908. The 'hedonistic' approach is another new attitude. The Homeric contemplation of mortality led on the one hand to subordination of the life preservation principle to socially ordained aims, and on the other to an attitude of acceptance of, and respect for, the cosmic order and the life-cycle which validates individual lifes. The hedonistic approach stems from an individual perception of one's life and death and expresses rebellion against man's lot.[78] This type of '*carpe diem*' without illusions, especially manifested in Mimnermos and Semonides[79] and based on awareness of the insecurity of man's condition, is paralleled in the Enlightenment.[80] Alcaeus combines both attitudes (fr. 38 L-P): the contemplation of man's mortality leads both to hedonism, and, at a deeper level, to Homeric acceptance in the spirit of *Od.* 18.130—42 (cf. *supra*). Another difference between the Homeric and hedonistic approach to life and death is illustrated by Mimn. frs. 1—2, 4, 6 West: in Homer, death in old age, after a full portion of life, is good death (cf. *Od.* 11.134—7); but Mimnermos finds death preferable to old age with its physical discomforts and loss of physical pleasures. In the adespoton fragment Page *PoetMelGr* fr. 1009, death is perceived as a loss of the pleasures of the symposium and the aristocratic way of life.[81] The mirror image of this is Pindar's notion in fr. 114 Bowra of a paradise defined in terms of the availability of the pleasures of the aristocratic way of life. In Archilochos (frs. 11 and 13 West) we find a somewhat detached, rationalizing, approach to the notions of grief and mourning, a kind of transformation of Homeric acceptance and resumption of normal life after a death, in which the notion of the pointlessness of mourning and its uselessness to the dead replaces the concept of 'the due of the dead'. Archil. frs. 133—4 West, in contrast to Kallinos' and Tyrtaios' assurances about memory-survival, testify to an attitude of some indifference towards the memory of the dead—which the poet castigates. Semon. fr. 2 seems to reflect a situation where the death of the other weighs more heavily. Finally, Heracl. fr. 96 illustrates strikingly the

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[76] *Katabaseis*: Burkert, *GR*, p. 301; F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit*, Berlin and New York 1974, RGVV 33), pp. 122—50 *passim*, 182—4. Macabre themes: Ariès, *L'h.*, pp. 112—29.

[77] The notion that such attitudes may have existed in Homer's time but were not reflected in the epics cannot be seriously entertained. For the death-related attitudes and their manifestations contained in the epics form a coherent nexus, overlaid with signs of a slight movement, which proves to be such—i.e. coherent and overlaid—not simply on grounds of internal consistency, but also with reference to externally established models of attitudes derived from other societies. Moreover, whenever control is possible, Hesiod and archaeology confirm this picture. Finally, the comparison between the Homeric 'signs of movement' and archaic funerary attitudes, often shows features of the latter to be a developed form of the former.

[78] Cf. D. Babut, "Sémonide et Mimnerme", *REG* 84, 1971, p. 27.

[79] Cf. esp. Semon. fr. 29—if it is by Semonides rather than Simonides (cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species. Semonides on Women*, London 1975, pp. 96—7).

[80] Cf. Vovelle, *Mour.*, p. 169.

[81] Praxilla's much misunderstood Adonis (Page, *PoetMelGr* fr. 747) expresses a related notion, equating death to loss of physical pleasures: enjoyment of the sun, moon, stars, fruit.

contrast with the earlier, familiar mode of attitudes to death and the dead: νέκυες γὰρ κοπρίων ἐκβλητότεροι. This brings us to another facet and manifestation of this attitude, one mentioned already: the termination of intramural burial in archaic times, which, we saw, indicated loss of familiarity with death and an increasing desire to keep its physical reality at a distance, for it and the dead now inspire fear and revulsion. These feelings were expressed, ritually and conceptually, through the idea of pollution which provided the means for expanding and articulating boundaries. Due to the increased fear and revulsion, death-related pollution beliefs hardened in the archaic period, as witness the purification of Delos from graves (Thuc. 3.104) and the fact that the gods no longer come in contact with death (Eur. *Alc.* 20—3; *Hipp.* 1437—9) as they did in Homer (cf. *Il.* 16.676—80; 23.185—7; 24.610—2).[82]

Conceivably, the placing of offerings in special areas, a distinctive feature of Attic archaic burials, is a manifestation of this new desire to keep the physical fact of death somewhat at a distance. In archaic inhumation graves the offerings were normally inside the burial pit and sometimes included rich furnishings, though some offerings were placed outside, in special pits or ditches. But the (also externally impressive) cremation graves often had no, or very poor, furnishings, while the offerings were placed in special deposits, offering places or offering ditches, apart from, or associated closely with, the grave. Perhaps this shift of emphasis towards special offering areas (sometimes on top of the slabs covering the burial) indicates a shift of emphasis in the burial ceremony towards the stage after the burial pit has been closed and the remains hidden from sight. The same tendency to reduce the handling of the physical remains could, conceivably, also lie behind the predominance of primary cremations from the late 8th/early 7th cent. onwards, while until then secondary cremation had been norm.[83]

The increasing desire to push death away is also manifested in the funerary legislation which restricted death's encroachment on community life by limiting the disruption, and lowering the emotional tone, of the death-ritual.[84] The legislation attributed to Solon ([Dem.]) 43.62; Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 12; 21; Cic. *De leg.* 2.59 ff.), said to have been influenced by Epimenides and to have made mourning milder and suppressed women's harsh practices, restricted the *prothesis* indoors, ordered the *ekphora* to take place before sunrise on the day after the *prothesis*, limited the participation of women in the death-ritual to close relatives and the over-60's, restricted the corpse's apparel and offerings at the grave, and forbade women's self-wounding, the singing of set dirges, lamentations for earlier dead at another's funeral, and visits to graves of non-kin except for funerals. Clearly, the emphasis here is less on limiting expenditure than on restricting death's disruption, forcing it to keep low visibility and limiting or suppressing practices which heightened the emotional tone—mostly involving women, whose participation is now restricted. The regulations of the Delphic phratry of the Labyadai (F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques,* Paris 1969, no. 77; *SEG* xxv, 574)[85] restrict the expenditure on grave-furnishings, specify burial apparel and bedding, require the corpse to be carried in silence, face covered, and not to be put down at the road turnings, and forbid wailing and lament outside the house until the procession has reached the grave, and again after the grave has been closed, and also lamenting at the graves of other dead and lamenting for the deceased on the next day, the tenth day and the yearly anniversary. Obviously, here also, external manifestations of grief, and death's encroachment, are restricted in comparable ways, with the addition of the covering of the corpse's face, which, as in other societies, is a symptom of recession in the familiarity with death, and a desire to push away death's physical reality.[86] The same requirement of silence during the *ekphora,* and for the corpse's face to be covered (pace Sokolowski: *holoscherea*) is included in the 5th cent. funerary law of Ioulis in Keos (Sokolowski, *LS* no. 97; *SIG*[3] 1218; *IG* xii 5.593), probably reflecting earlier legislation, which also restricts expenditure and deals with pollution and its removal. There is literary evidence for similar legislation elsewhere: Charondas of Katane apparently restricted external manifestations of grief (Stob. *Flor.* 44.40), and at Mytilene Pittakos is said to have restricted participation in funerals to kin (Cic. *De leg.* 66).[87] The explanation of this funerary legislation, I suggest, lies in the tensions generated by the new death-related realities and attitudes: tension between the high-tone ritual and the small (fa-

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[82] Cf. Burkert, *GR,* p. 310. As Dr. R.C.T. Parker has pointed out to me, in Pind. *Pyth.* 3.40—4 Apollo takes the unborn Asklepios off Koronis' corpse. But I think that here the pollution of death and that of childbirth cancel each other out, as the burning fire (which, like water, is an important purifying agent; cf. Burkert, *GR,* p. 130, 133—4) is eliminating both.

[83] Grave-offerings: *GBC,* pp. 71, 75—6. Primary cremations: *GBC,* p. 73.

[84] Cf. Burkert, *GR,* p. 299; Alexiou (supra n. 35), pp. 14—23; *GGrR,* pp. 714—5; Humphreys (supra n. 45), pp. 99—100; cf. also *AG,* p. 146.

[85] Cf. G. Roux, "Le sens du mot ἔνατος dans le règlement des Labyades à Delphes", *RA* 1975, pp. 25—30. The inscription is of the late 5th cent. but may be reflecting earlier legislation (cf. G. Rougemont, "L'inscription archaïque de Delphes relative à la phratrie des Labyades", *BCH* 98, 1974, pp. 147—58, esp. 154).

[86] Cf. Ariès, *L'h.,* pp. 116, 168—72. On the refusal of the sight of death, cf. also Vovelle, *Mour.,* pp. 199—202.

[87] Cf. also Diod. 11.38.2 for Syracuse. The laws of Gortyn also included funerary regulations: M. Guarducci, *Inscriptions Creticae* IV, Rome 1950, nos. 22, 46, 76; R.F. Willetts, *The law code of Gortyn,* Berlin 1967, p. 8.

mily) group carrying its burden (cf. n. 56); between this situation applying to the majority and that of aristocrats for whom the support of a larger group was available; and finally, between the collective recession of familiarity with death and the desire to keep away its physical reality, and the considerable encroachment of death involved in the old ritual. As M. Alexiou noted (cf. n. 84), though in support of a different hypothesis, the restrictions originated in the more advanced cities, and it is there, generally, where the circumstances were most favourable to it, that the shift in attitudes can be seen most clearly. Modern interpretations of this legislation tend to attribute to it economic, sociopolitical, or other 'rational' motivations. And indeed, it cannot be doubted that the people most deeply affected by the measures were the artistocrats, and that an anti-aristocratic bias was inherent. But there are strong reasons for thinking that the primary aim was to push away the physical reality of death, in response to a changed situation and mentality—in fact, Epimenides' alleged influence on Solon's legislation is a pointer in the right, 'non-rational', direction. First, simply, that most clauses are directed towards this goal, which they are trying to achieve through different, converging, behaviour-elements, including some, like covering the corpse's face, known to be manifestations and symptoms of a shrinking from death's physical reality. Second, because this interpretation accords best with other aspects of archaic death-related behaviour and attitudes. Third, because no sociopolitical or economic explanation can account, on its own, for the issue and reissue of such regulations in the different sociopolitical circumstances, and by the different issuing bodies, that are in fact involved. Finally, because, as Snodgrass noted (cf. n. 84), in Athens, these restrictions in the death-ritual coincided with a striking increase in expenditure on grave monuments (later restricted by law); this militates against the financial or 'ideological' anti-aristocratic bias being the primary factor in Solon's legislation, but fits perfectly the hypothesis suggested here, that is was chiefly a response to the changing attitudes which involved, on the one hand distancing of death's physical reality, and on the other concern for memory-survival through the grave monument. For the greater concern for memory-survival seen in literature also manifests itself with great force in this other version, memory-survival achieved by means of the grave monument. As in the Late Middle Ages, the more individual perception of death goes together with individualization of the grave which becomes an important vehicle for the preservation of the deceased's memory. Archaic graves are individualized through grave-inscriptions, recording the fact of one's life and death, and so preserving the memory of one's existence, and grave-monuments, especially grave-statues and grave-reliefs.[88]

Naturally, I have not proved every interpretation of every feature of every facet of death-related behaviour and funerary ideology in each of the periods I have discussed. But I submit that the case taken as a whole is strong, and can often explain, and at other times provide an interpretational parameter for, a series of apparently disparate phenomena. My hypothesis is that the shift in attitudes proposed here was brought about by a complex interaction between the funerary system and the changing demographic, socioeconomic, political and intellectual circumstances of the 8th cent. and subsequently also of the archaic period. These circumstances affected collective attitudes to death through four main channels, each interacting with the other and with the death attitudes and generating feedbacks and interaction between the interlocking parts of the funerary system. First, through the break-up of the earlier small, tightly-knit communities and the rise of the *polis*. Second, through the emergence of individualism,[89] which affected the perception of one's identity and death. Third, through the other intellectual developments of the archaic period, and especially philosophical speculation of an ethical and eschatological nature. And finally, through the general mental tone of insecurity and fear of disorder resulting form the upheavals brought about by the dramatic expansion of horizons, the drastic and rapid socioeconomic and political changes and the continuing unrest within the cities.

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In the author's absence the paper was read by Dr. Nanno Marinatos.

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[88] Late Medieval grave individualization: Ariès, *L'h.*, pp. 205—13. It is simplistic to attribute the new individualization of the grave through inscriptions in Greece (beginning in the early 7th cent.) to the greater spread of the alphabet, independently from a mentality change. As the alphabet had been in use since at least c. 750, if the 'need' for grave inscriptions had arisen earlier, it would have been put to that use earlier: needs and means are interrelated and interact, especially when it is a matter of diffusion rather than invention. On memory-survival through the grave-monument, cf. Simon. Page, *PoetMelGr* fr. 581; and cf. Plut. *Vit.Lyc.* xxvii for the importance of preserving one's name through the grave inscription, a privilege which in Sparta was only accorded to those who died in the service of the state. Ostentatious commemorative monuments were, of course, also a focus for propaganda; cf. Humphreys (supra n. 45), p. 123.

[89] This is controversial, the old view that individualism emerged in the archaic period having been challenged. But the challenge in fact depends on too narrow a definition of individualism, on which cf. S. Lukes, *Individualism*, Oxford 1973, esp. pp. 40—122. The emergence of individualism in archaic Greece is, I think, in many respects comparable to the Late Medieval one (cf. Morris, supra n. 17); with the difference that the Greeks lacked an earlier tradition of individualism on which to draw in order to help express this new reality, as the Western Europeans did (cf. Morris, supra n. 17, *passim*). On the archaic 'rise of the individual', cf. most recently *AG*, pp. 160—200.

Discussion

C.K. Williams: The archaeological evidence adduced in this paper is Athenocentric. In Argos and Corinth archaeological evidence of burials does not support the hypothesis.

W. Burkert: If Athens was a kind of spiritual leader, that would explain the disparity in the archaeological evidence. Another point I would like to make, however, is that one should differentiate between attitudes to one's own death and other people's death.

E.C. Kopff: I agree. In the *Iliad* people are very afraid of their own death even though their attitude to death in general is more philosophical.

General Discussion on History and Society

O. Murray: I see a conflict of approach between the archaeologists and the literary scholars. The archaeologists emphasize diversity and regionalism, while literary scholars emphasize the centralizing tendency in a spread of the knowledge of Homer and of an interest in the heroic past. Again what emerged from Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood's paper is that whereas the literary evidence is Athenocentric, the archaeological is not: once more the archaeologists emphasize change and difference, while the literary scholars concentrate on continuity and homogeneity. Is this as much a conflict of attitudes of mind as a response to the evidence?

J.N. Coldstream: Nevertheless regional styles have points of similarity.

R. Hägg: There is diversity in funeral customs and material customs but a unifying tendency works through the epic. This may explain why archaeologists and philologists disagree.

P. Themelis to J.N. Coldstream: Four out of eleven areas that you have mentioned were urbanized. Is that enough to support your hypothesis about *polis-ethnos* distinction?

J.N. Coldstream: I was simply comparing the original with the imitative styles and noted a geographical correspondence with maps showing *polis* and *ethnos* areas.

B. Bergquist to J.N. Coldstream: Would there have been different distribution maps, if "containing pottery" had been distinguished from table-ware pottery?

J.N. Coldstream: There are two reasons for exporting a pot, either for its intrinsic quality or for its contents. But trade is only one from of communication, and other forms of communication also helped to spread the styles.

B. Wells to J.N. Coldstream: It becomes more and more obvious now that people travelled extensively during the Dark Ages. At Asine we have contacts with the East and the West in the PG period for example.

J.N. Coldstream: Tenth century communications gave rise to the first *koine* of the Early Iron Age. Lefkandi fits into that context.

S. Hiller to J.N. Coldstream: What is meant with Greek Renaissance? Who used it first and what do we mean by it, Mycenaean, economic, Homeric?

J.N. Coldstream: P.N. Ure (*The Origin of Tyranny*, 1922, pp. 2—3) compared the seventh-century Greek tyrants with Italian Renaissance princes, but I think A.R. Burn (*The World of Hesiod*, 1936, p. 150) was the first scholar to use the term "Greek Renaissance" in the Homeric sense, to describe the revival of interest in a glorious past. Even before this Homeric Renaissance there must have been a continuous tradition of Homeric saga in Ionia, but something must have caused it to travel in the eighth century to other regions. This is quite a different phenomenon from the occurrence of rich burials, many of which precede this Renaissance.

Oriental Myth and Literature in the Iliad

by
Walter Burkert

'Homer and Mycenae' has remained a fascinating topic of Homeric discussions ever since Schliemann, while 'Homer and Oral Tradition' has become a major preoccupation of Homeric studies, and of literary theory in general, in the wake of Milman Parry.[1] The questions to be asked in this paper do not conform with either of these tendencies, though they should complement rather than contradict them. They take their start from the incontrovertible fact that the text of Homer we have is neither Mycenaean nor oral but was written down in the Phoenician-Greek alphabet some time in the Late Geometric or Orientalizing period. From all we know, this cannot have happened before 750 B.C.; I, for one, would favour the first half of the 7th century.[2] But it still sounds like heresy to ask whether the advent of the Oriental art of writing could have had any effects on *Iliad* and *Odyssey* except providing letter forms.

That Homeric heroes appear to be ignorant of writing was pertinently remarked already by the ancient critics, who also discussed the one glaring exception, the story of King Proetus and Bellerophon in Z 115—206:[3] Bellerophon, on account of a false accusation by the wife of Proetus, is sent to Lycia in order to perish there: "he brought baneful signs, he scratched on a folded tablet many life-destroying things . . . that he—Bellerophon—should be killed". Only preconceived dogmatism can question that this is the motif of the 'fatal letter',[4] which was to be exploited frequently in later folk literature. It is true that γράφειν originally means 'to scratch', 'to draw'—a ζωγράφος does not necessarily write—, and the motif of the 'fatal message' can be employed without writing; in German, *Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer*, is a well-known example. Still in this case very specific collusion between the sender and the receiver of the message is required, which is difficult to imagine between Ephyra-Corinth and Lycia. On the contrary, it is said that Proetus scratches 'many' signs, θυμοφθόρα πολλά, i.e. there is a complicated system of signs, σήματα, in order to transmit specific information, in other words: there is writing implied in the story, and he who tells the tale and those who hear it know what it is about, even if the impression remains that the poet is deliberately avoiding[5] plain *termini* such as γράμματα and δέλτος. It is true nevertheless that in a semiliterate society writing is something slightly uncanny, and this will be the ideal background for the motif of the fatal letter.

The question, though, which system of writing we should imagine to be implied in the Bellerophon story has led to divergent answers. One ancient interpreter

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[1] M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, London 1933; M. Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse*, ed. A. Parry, Oxford 1971; see the surveys of E. R. Dodds, L.R. Palmer, D. Gray in M. Platnauer, *Fifty Years (and twelve) in Classical Scholarship*, Oxford 1968², pp. 1—49; A. Heubeck, *Die Homerische Frage*, Darmstadt 1974; J. Latacz, *Homer, Tradition und Neuerung*, Darmstadt 1979 (Wege der Forschung, 413).

[2] Cf. *WS* 89, 1976, pp. 5—21. On the alphabet, see L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* I, Roma 1967; "Die Schrift und die Schriftzeugnisse" in U. Hausmann (ed.), *Handbuch der Archäologie I*, München 1969, pp. 207—393; A. Heubeck, *Schrift = Archaeologia Homerica*, Vol. III, Ch. X, Göttingen 1979; graffiti from Lefkandi in M. R. Popham, L. H. Sackett, P. G. Themelis, *Lefkandi* I, London 1980, pp. 89—92.

[3] Schol. on *Il.* 6,169a and Schol. Dion. Thr. p. 185,14 Hilgard; M. Maftei, *Antike Diskussionen über die Episode von Glaukos und Diomedes im VI. Buch der Ilias*, Meisenheim 1976, pp. 29—35. The modern discussion began with F. A. Wolf, *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, Halle 1795, p. LXXXVI; the position defended in this paper agrees with H. G. Buchholz in: *Frühe Schriftzeugnisse der Menschheit*, Hamburg 1969, pp. 109—112 and Heubeck (supra n. 2), pp. 128—146.

[4] Cf. R. Schenda s.v. Brief in *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* II, Berlin 1979, pp. 786 f. — The idea that some pictographic symbols, not real writing were involved, had been proposed by Aristarchus (Schol. *Il.* 6,169a) and was revived, among others, by L. Malten, *JdI* 40, 1925, p. 129,7, followed by P. Von der Mühll, *Kritisches Hypomnema zur Ilias*, Basel 1952, p. 117. But what about the writing tablet?

[5] U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Ilias und Homer*, Berlin 1914, p. 304, 2; O. Murray, *Early Greece*, Brighton 1980, p. 91.

suggested Egyptian hieroglyphs,[6] whereas moderns seem to favour Hittite hieroglyphs,[7] if not straightforward Linear B. Cypriote syllabary would be recommended by the fact that it was practiced continuously throughout the Dark Ages, though hardly read either in Corinth or in Lycia. Some scholars suggested a special and ancient Lycian-Cretan connection even in writing,[8] but the Lycian alphabet is derived from the Greek; nor does archaeology trace the higher development of Lycian civilization in the Xanthos valley beyond the 8th century.

There remains to follow the one clue inherent in the story of Bellerophon: the fatal letter is written on a 'folded tablet', πίναξ πτυκτός. The advantage of fastening two tablets together is obvious: the writing inside is protected, and it cannot be read without breaking the seal. Thus Bellerophon evidently is ignorant of the contents. But this is not for fragile clay tablets; cuneiform and related systems of writing are thus ruled out. The one writing system which constantly used the wooden (or ivory) tablet is the Phoenician-Aramaean and its dependent, the Graeco-Roman. But what is more: this very 'folded tablet' always retained its Phoenician name in Greek, δέλτος.[9] It is true that the first attestation for the word seems to occur in a metaphor of Aeschylus (*Suppl.* 179), but this is sheer coincidence; private letters from 6th century Olbia have only just now taught us the words for two other writing materials, the lead tablet, μολύβδιον, and the leather scroll, διφθέριον,[10] word-formations quite similar to δελτίον and βυβλίον. Anyhow, the Semitic word *daltu/daleth*, lit. 'door', is already attested for a writing tablet at Ugarit. The rendering of Semitic vowels in Greek is hazardous. At Cyprus, where the inherited syllabic writing prevented the introduction of the Greek alphabet, *daltu* appears correctly as *daltos*,[11] whereas the normal Greek δέλτος agrees with the letter δέλτα in transcribing the same Semitic word. The plain conclusion is that both belong together: the δέλτος is as old in Greece as the alphabet.

There is no avoiding the conclusion: the Bellerophon story, as contained in the *Iliad*, presupposes writing on a Phoenician-Greek δέλτος. A vague Dark-Age reminiscence is intrinsically improbable, is not suggested by any formulaic elements in the lines in question—on the contrary, the wording seems to be quite innovative—and is definitvely ruled out by the specific mention of the πίναξ πτυκτός. Additional proof is given, quite unintentionally, by V. L. Aravantinos who, in 1976, took up the case for Hittite hieroglyphs: to uphold his thesis he has to delete πτυκτῶι in the text of the *Iliad* as a 'corruption'.[12] But the word is there, and so is the alphabet.

If this is granted, we cannot but take some further steps: In fact the 'fatal letter' motif is first attested in Semitic literature, in the book of Samuel (II 11), with David and Uriah.[13] The *femme fatale* is not absent either, though in a different role, whereas the treacherous wife of Proetus more closely recalls the famous wife of Potiphar in the Book of Genesis.[14] A third specialty of the Bellerophon story is Chimaera, a composite monster which in two at least of three elements agrees with Late Hittite iconography as attested at Carchemish and Zinjirli.[15] That the Lycian language is closely related to Hieroglyphic Luwian[16] is an interesting fact in this connection; incidentally, Uriah is Hittite. We still do not possess narrative texts from these regions. It is still remarkable that Aramaean and cuneiform writing were practised side by side,[17] and there even survives a letter of recommendation from Tell Halaf: 'In secret mission I am sen-

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[6] Schol. *Il*, 6, 168, p. 160,49 Erbse.

[7] F. J. Tritsch, *Kadmos* 7, 1968, pp. 124—137 and in *Atti e memorie del 1° Congresso internazionale di Micenologia*, Roma 1968, pp. 1223—30; V. L. Aravantinos, *SMEA* 17, 1976, pp. 117—125. Already T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, London 1958, pp. 25, 117 had confidently dated the letter of Proetus to the 14th century.

[8] W. Leaf, *The Iliad* I, London 1900², on Z 168 with reference to Evans; A. J. Evans, *Scripta Minoa* I, Oxford 1909, pp. 64 f.; L. H Jeffery in A. J. Wace, F. H. Stubbings (eds.), *A Companion to Homer*, London 1967, p. 555. On Lycian writing, see G. Neumann in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* II 2,2: *Altkleinasiatische Sprachen*, Leiden 1969, pp. 358 f., 371—373.

[9] E. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec*, Paris 1967, pp. 61—65; K. Galling, "Tafel, Buch und Blatt", in *Near Eastern Studies in Honour of W. F. Albright*, Baltimore 1971, pp. 207—223; for Ugaritic, see now M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartin, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*, Kevelaer 1976, nr 5.7. On the material evidence, see D. J. Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing-Boards", *Iraq* 17, 1955, pp. 1—13; M. Howard, "Technical Description of the Ivory Writing-Boards from Nimrud", *ib.* pp. 14—20; H. Th. Bossert, "Sie schrieben auf Holz", in *Minoica, Festschrift J. Sundwall*, ed. E. Grumach, Berlin 1958, pp. 67—79; Heubeck (supra n. 2), pp. 143 f.

[10] μολίβδιον (sic) *SEG* 26, 1976/77, nr. 845 rev.; διφθέριον (cf. Hdt. 5, 58) in a similar letter to be published by Ju. G. Vinogradov.

[11] O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris 1961, nr. 217,26.

[12] Aravantinos (supra n. 7), p. 124.

[13] *Uriasbrief* has remained proverbial in German, but it has become unfashionable in classical philology to refer to it (but see Heubeck, supra n. 2, p. 134).

[14] *Genesis* 39. The "Potiphar-motif" recurs in many ancient and later variants; cf. F. Jesi, "Il tentato adulterio mitico in Grecia e in Egitto", *Aegyptus* 42, 1962, pp. 276—296; H. J. Tschiedel, *Phaidra und Hippolytos*, Diss. Erlangen 1969, pp. 16—22.

[15] The name, feminine to χίμαρος, is Greek, of course. Relief of Karkamiş in E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, München 1976², Pl. 110; of Zinjirli in F. v. Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* III, Berlin 1902, Pl. 43; Greek 7th century representations: Protocorinthian skyphos from Aegina, K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder*, München 1964, Pl. 22; Cycladic plate, R. Hampe, E. Simon, *Tausend Jahre frühgriechische Kunst*, München 1980, Fig. 260; metope from Thermos, S. Hiller, *Antike und Abendland* 19, 1973, Fig. 3.

[16] Neumann (supra, n. 8), p. 365.

[17] J. Friedrich, G.R. Meyer, A. Ungnad, E. Weidner, *Die Inschriften von Tell Halaf*, Berlin 1940, pp. 47—56 nr. 101—106 and pp. 70—78 nr. 1—5.

ding X; you shall admit him'.[18] All the clues thus point to an import from the region of North Syria/Cilicia, and to an epoch not earlier than the alphabet. It is true that the Bellerophon passage has been considered 'late' by Homeric analysts, and some of them would lower the date to the Pisistratid epoch.[19] But since the Bellerophon-Chimaera story becomes popular in Greek art by the first half of the 7th century,[20] and this was the period of Greek-Lycian conflicts on the coast of Asia Minor,[21] it is advisable to envisage a corresponding date even for an Orientalizing novella in Homer.[22]

It seems that cultural exchange could span even greater distances at that time. Only in 1969 an Akkadian epic was published that had hitherto been known in fragments as a variant of the story of the Flood: *Atraḫasis*, 'Outstanding in wisdom'.[23] The oldest tablets date from the time of Hammurabi, but the text was well known, in different recensions, down to the time of Assurbanipal. This work turns out to be one of the most remarkable texts of cuneiform literature. The gods create mankind as their robots to do all the work; but when mankind, multiplying, becomes a nuisance, Enlil the storm god tries to destroy them again, first by disease, then by famine, finally by flood. But cunning Atraḫasis, aided by the clever god Ea, makes mankind survive. There is a strange, almost cynical optimism in this elaboration of a trickster myth: whether the gods like it or not, mankind, harrassed as it is by every kind of sufferings, is after all indestructible.

Now just at the beginning of the text the Mesopotamian pantheon is set out in a quasi-systematic fashion. The epic of *Gilgameš* has copied these verses, but not the sequence, which reads: "The gods had clasped hands together, had cast lots and had divided. Anu had gone up to heaven, (another god—there is a lacuna) had given the earth to his subjects, and the bolt, the bar of the sea, they had given to Enki, the prince." The passage recurs, in nearly the same words, later in the narrative,[24] when the rule of the gods is to comprise the whole of the universe so that there should be no escape for mankind. There are thus three major gods of the pantheon who have divided the universe by lot among themselves, the god of heaven, the god of sea, and the god of earth including the underworld—one variant expressly mentions Nergal, the god of the dead, in this function. Now the *Iliad* has these verses, often quoted since antiquity; Poseidon, god of the sea, is speaking: "When we cast the lots, I received the grey sea for my permanent abode, Hades got the airy dark (of the underworld), but Zeus got the wide sky with light and clouds; the earth, and Olympus, are common to all of us."[25] This is a divergence, because for Homer the mountain of the gods is still part of the earth, and at the same time Poseidon claims his right to be active on the plain of Troy. But the basic structure is surprisingly identical: three parts of the universe—which are not the only possibility; other common triads are: heaven-air-earth and heaven-earth-underworld—, three major gods of the pantheon, all of them male, and division by lot and not by cosmogonic struggle or paternal rule. This is foreign to Hesiod, and isolated within the *Iliad*, whereas the corresponding passage is basic to the plot of *Atraḫasis*. I find this correspondence as startling as the by now well-known relation of Hesiod's Kronos to Kumarbi.[26] In fact I do not know of another passage in Homer which comes so close to being a translation of an Oriental text.

Might this also be coincidence? There is the context to be taken into account, which has indeed a unique status within the *Iliad*. This passage still belongs to the 'Deception of Zeus', Διὸς Ἀπάτη. The stylistic and formulaic pecularities of this section have been set forth by Albrecht Dihle,[27] who concludes that this

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[18] Tell Halaf (supra n. 17), p. 13 nr. 4.

[19] Von der Mühll (supra n. 4), pp. 115—117; G. Jachmann, "Homerische Einzellieder", in *Symbola Coloniensia J. Kroll oblata*, Köln 1949, pp. 30—36. See, in general, R. Peppermüller, *Die Bellerophontessage*, Diss. Tübingen 1961 (unpublished) and *WS* 75, 1962, pp. 5—21.

[20] Cretan relief pithos, D. Levi, *ASAtene* 17/18, 1955/56, p. 274 Fig. 57; 62; P. Demargne, *RA* 1972, 1, p. 45; E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, Berkeley 1979, p. 128; see n. 15.

[21] The combat of Sarpedon and Tlepolemos of Rhodos, *Il.* 5, 627—668, has been seen in this setting since C. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, Berlin 1881, p. 118,52; Von der Mühll (supra n. 4), p. 100; W. H. Friedrich, *Verwundung und Tod in der Ilias*, Göttingen 1956, p. 109; P. Frei, "Die Lykier bei Homer", *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, Ankara 1978, pp. 819—827; hypercritical is F. Prinz, *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie*, München 1979, pp. 78—97.

[22] I do not venture to say anything on the name Bellerophon(tes), provided with Semitic etymologies by M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, Leiden 1965, pp. 225—240, nor even on king Iobates of Lycia (Sophocles Fr. 297—299, Euripides Stheneboia, H. v. Arnim, *Supplementum Euripideum*, Berlin 1913, p. 43), cf. Iobates = Iuba of Mauretania.

[23] W. G. Lambert, A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasis, The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, Oxford 1969; W. v. Soden, "Die erste Tafel des altbabylonischen Atramhasis-Mythus, 'Haupttext' und Parallelversionen", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 68, 1978, pp. 50—94.

[24] Atraḫasis I 11—16, pp. 42 f. Lambert-Millard (I 7—10 = Gilgameš XI 15—18); cf. II v 16—19, 30—3[1], pp. 80—83 Lambert-Millard; Tablet 'X' rev. I 4—7; II 2,5, pp. 116—119 Lambert-Millard; commentary on p. 166.

[25] *Il.* 15,187—193; the three brothers appear on a black-figured cup of the Xenokles painter, London B 245, Vermeule (supra n. 20), p. 34; their 'casting of lots' was used as an etymology for Klaros, Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1,308.

[26] See M. L. West, *Hesiod Theogony*, Oxford 1966, pp. 18—31; P. Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East*, Cardiff 1966; W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley 1979, pp. 20—22.

[27] A. Dihle, *Homer-Probleme*, Opladen 1970, pp. 83—92; even earlier, W. Theiler, *Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur*, Berlin 1970, pp. 21—33 (originally published in 1947) had coined the term 'Berückungsdichter'. The unique appearance of cosmogonic motifs in this passage had been signalled by O. Gruppe, *Die griechischen Kulte und Mythen in ihren Beziehungen zu den orientalischen Religionen* I, Leipzig 1887, pp. 612—618.

is not oral composition, whereas the uniqueness of its contents had already drawn the attention of Plato and Aristotle:[28] this is the only passage in Homer which alludes to cosmogony. There are Oceanus and his wife Tethys, 'origin of the gods' or even 'origin of all', γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.[29] They have been refraining from intercourse for a long time, Homer makes Hera say, on account of 'strife'. The lines of thought leading on from here to pre-Socratic philosophy, to Thales and Empedocles, are evident; but modern scholarship has also recognized that there is an Oriental background to this first Greek water cosmogony.[30] In fact *Enuma eliš*, the Babylonian epic of creation, begins with Apsu, the sweet-water ocean, 'the first, the begetter', and Tiamat, the Sea, 'she who bore them all': they were there when heaven and earth had not yet been created, 'mingling their waters as a single body'.[31] Later on Ea put Apsu to rest, and Tiamat was killed by Marduk, and this was the end of primordial 'mingling'. It looks as if Homer were alluding to *Enuma eliš* directly. In support of this, there is the name of that primeval mother, Tethys, a purely mythological name for Greeks, as far as we see, not connected with any living cult (quite in contrast to Thetis) and known to everyone just from this very passage of Homer. Now Tiamat in *Enuma eliš* is also written, and possibly pronounced, Tawatu.[32] Transcribing Tawatu into Ionian, Τηθύς is about as close as it could be. For η instead of α, there are the parallel cases of Κυβήβη, Μῆδοι, and Βῆλος.[33] The linguist might still be troubled by the θ: Akkadian seems to have the same dental twice in this name—, but when Eudemus, the pupil of Aristotle, finally gave an account of the authentic *Enuma eliš*, he transcribed Tawatu as Ταυθέ.[34] So everything seems to fit, even if in general Oriental etymologies for Greek proper names are regarded with profound—and well deserved—distrust. It is the specific motif of the primordial water gods, and the motif of the gods casting lots for the three portions of the universe, that must be judged "a neo-Oriental element" in the text of Homer, as Martin West has put it.[35] Mycenaean tradition, to repeat, is excluded in this case by the observations of Albrecht Dihle. Also the *Berückungsdichter* has been placed 'late' in the development of the epic by Homeric analysts; but it is clear that the Διὸς Ἀπάτη is an indispensable element in the overall structure of the *Iliad* as we have it.

There are probably still more Oriental elements in this very part of Homer. In fact the only mention of Τιτῆνες in Homer occurs in this context.[36] 'Old gods' sent into the Netherworld by the weather god are known from Hittite texts,[37] and here there is a Bronze Age tradition, though the way of transmission is unclear; there are also *ilani kamuti*, 'vanquished' or 'fettered' gods in Mesopotamian mythology.[38] The name Τιτῆνες has been connected with τιτανός, 'gypsum', by the ancients;[39] linguists have protested, since the ι is long in Τιτῆνες and short in τιτανός; but in the background there is any case the Semitic ṭīṭ[40] with a long i. But this whole question would require a long, and largely inconclusive, discussion.

Two more remarks on the *Atraḫasis* text: At its beginning, there is a remarkable account of the first strike in the realm of the gods. The lesser gods, who are made to work, decide one day to revolt; they burn their shovels and other implements and come at night to the house of Enlil, their boss, to force him to stop the system. Enlil, frightened, sends a messenger to Anu and Enki to come and give him advice. The solution will be the creation of man.[41] In the first book of the *Iliad*, Thetis reminds Zeus of an event not recorded anywhere else, "how the other Olympian gods wanted to fetter Zeus"; at that time, Thetis, acting as

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[28] Pl. *Cra.* 402ab; *Tht.* 152e, 180cd; Arist. *Met.* 983b27—31; Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 364cd referred to Egypt. Cf. G. S. Kirk, J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, Cambridge 1957, pp. 15—19.

[29] *Il.* 14,201; 302; 246.

[30] U. Hölscher, "Anaximander und der Anfang der Philosophie", *Hermes* 81, 1953, pp. 257—277, 385—418, revised in *Anfängliches Fragen*, Göttingen 1968, pp. 9—89, esp. 40—43; Kirk-Raven (supra n. 28), p. 13; W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* I, Cambridge 1962, pp. 58—61.

[31] Enuma eliš I 5, J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton 1955², p. 61; R. Labat, *Les religions du proche-orient asiatique*, Paris 1970, p. 38; G. Steiner, *Der Sukzessionsmythos in Hesiods 'Theogonie' und ihren orientalischen Parallelen*, Diss. Hamburg 1958 (with transcription); revised cuneiform text: W. G. Lambert, S. B. Parker, *Enuma Eliš*, Oxford 1966.

[32] ta-à-wa-ti (genitive) in IV 65, p. 23 Lambert-Parker (supra n. 31); ti-à-wa-ti in II 81, p. 12 Lambert-Parker; ta-ma-tu in I 33, p. 2 Lambert-Parker; see in general W. v. Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1965 ff., pp. 1353 f., and for the alternation w/m W. v. Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, Rom 1952, § 21 d.

[33] Cf. R. Gusmani in *Studies in Greek, Italian and Indoeuropean Linguistics*, Innsbruck 1976, pp. 77—82 (against E. Laroche, *Mélanges P. Chantraine*, Paris 1972, pp. 83—91).

[34] Eudemus Fr. 150 Wehrli = Damasc. Princ. I 322,1 f.; as to the vowel of the last syllable, it changes in Akkadian inflection, u-i-a. The derivation of Tethys from Tiamat was proposed by O. Szemerényi, *JHS* 94, 1974, p. 150 (though he did not notice the form tawatu), cf. already West (supra n. 26), p. 204 on line 136.

[35] M. L. West, *Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, Oxford 1971, p. 205.

[36] *Il.* 14,279, cf. 14,274; 15,225; 8,478 f.; West (supra n. 26), pp. 200 f.

[37] On *karuileš šiuneš*, see V. Haas, G. Wilhelm, *Hurritische und luwische Riten aus Kizzuwatna*, Kevelaer 1974, pp. 50—53.

[38] See *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* VIII (K) pp. 127 f.; B. Landsberger, J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *JNES* 20, 1961, pp. 178 f.

[39] Eustath. p. 332,24—28; noted by A. Dieterich, *RhM* 48, 1893, p. 280 = *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig 1911, p. 121; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge 1922³, pp. 491—493; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* V, Oxford 1909, p. 172.

[40] Noted by Astour (supra n. 22), p. 196,3; cf. v. Soden, *Handwb.* (supra n. 32), p. 1391 f., s.v. ṭidu.

[41] Atrahasis I 27—102, pp. 44—49 Lambert-Millard (supra n. 23).

a messenger, went to the depth of the sea to call up the giant Briareus, who sat down beside Zeus and scared the other gods away.[42] The parallel is not very specific, but still worth mentioning. More important is the relation to the very beginning of the Trojan cycle, the first lines of the *Kypria*: Mankind was multiplying, the Greek text says, the Earth felt oppressed, Zeus had pity on her and, among various possible measures, chose to bring about the Trojan war to reduce overpopulation. 'Earth was bellowing like a bull', the *Atraḫasis* text puts it more drastically;[43] there too it is the storm god Enlil who works out one scheme after another to destroy mankind. There is no direct translation involved, but a very fundamental and startling idea seems to be identical in both texts, and is much earlier attested in the East. In other respects, *Atraḫasis* has some resemblences to the Prometheus myth,[44] whereas a case can be made for some interrelation between the Greek epic theme of the *Seven against Thebes* and Mesopotamian magic and literature concerning the 'Seven' Demons.[45] But this cannot be discussed here *in extenso*.

To sum up: There are some passages in the *Iliad* that hark back rather directly to an Oriental origin. Most notable are the 'fatal letter' motif in the Bellerophon story and theogonic themes in the Διὸς Ἀπάτη, recalling *Atraḫasis* and *Enuma eliš* respectively. Since Mycenaean tradition is practically ruled out by internal criteria, this is proof for some influence of Oriental literature in the last formative stage of the Greek epic, and can hardly be separated from the advent of writing in the eighth century. This adds a new dimension to the 'Orientalizing period'.

In fact the general situation in the eighth/seventh centuries is not at all unfavourable to such a thesis. The Assyrians conquered not only Syria, but also Cyprus and Cilicia towards the end of the eighth century; cuneiform writing thus penetrated as far west as Tarsus and Kition.[46] The Cypriote kings who performed those splendid Homeric-style burials, horse-sacrifice and all, at Salamis,[47] were Assyrian vassals. It is tempting to mention the title Κύπρια ἔπη for the beginning of the Trojan cycle in this connection, though the title remains enigmatic. It is interesting that the closest cuneiform parallels to Homer that can be found come from the very beginning of both *Enuma eliš* and *Atraḫasis*: we know that the epics were used as schooltexts for teaching cuneiform writing,[48] and it is always the beginning of a school text that is remembered best. Still, direct contacts of Greeks with cuneiform literature, though almost unavoidable at the time, will not have been intimate. What the Greeks met *in extenso* were, no doubt, Phoenician-Aramaean leather scrolls alongside the δέλτος, and the curious could get information on the literature contained in them. But this whole province of literature is irrevocably lost to us, but for one—at that time—rather provincial offshoot, which was to become the Holy Bible. There were collections of Aramaean scrolls at Persepolis, and there may even have been a library;[49] but even if it had not been burnt down by Alexander, it would not have survived. One prophetic or even eschatological text, referring to the diviner Bileam, well known from the Old Testament, has recently been recovered at Deir Alla;[50] it raises interesting perspectives for the hypothetical common source of Hesiod's myth of ages and Daniel. The only literary Aramaean text from the pre-Hellenistic epoch found so far is *Achiqar* in the Elephantine papyrus;[51] the manuscript is dated to *c.* 407 B.C. It is still very remarkable for two reasons: it became known to Theophrastus, if not to Democritus, and was later translated into Greek—it survives in the *Vita of Aesopus*—and its dramatic situation is at Niniveh under the reign of Sennacherib. Even the Elephantine text, though, is probably of post-Assyrian date, and the later Aramaeo-Syrian version is heavily reworked. Still, it documents the connection between the Mesopotamian and the Mediterranean worlds of literature, and the decisive role of the Assyrian epoch for this. There is still no proof, though it is the quite possible, that Aramaean book scrolls also contained reelaborations of Akkadian classics. Such an hypothesis would

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[42] *Il.* 1,396—406; cf. W. Kullmann, *Das Wirken der Götter in der Ilias*, Berlin 1956, pp. 14—17.

[43] *Kypria* Fr. 1 Allen = Schol. *Il.* 1,5; see W. Kullmann, "Ein vorhomerisches Motiv im Iliasproömium", *Philologus* 99, 1955, pp. 167—192. — Atraḫasis I 352—4, pp. 66 f. Lambert-Millard; II i 1—4, pp. 72 f. Lambert-Millard; cf. A. D. Kilmer, "The Mesopotamian Concept of Overpopulation and its Solution as Reflected in Mythology", *Orientalia* 41, 1972, pp. 160—177.

[44] J. Duchemin, *Prométhée, Histoire du mythe de ses origines orientales à ses incarnations modernes*, Paris 1974.

[45] W. Burkert in *I poemi epici rapsodici non omerici e la tradizione orale*, Atti del Convegno di Venezia, Padova 1981, pp. 29—48.

[46] A. Goetze, "Cuneiform Inscriptions from Tarsos", *JAOS* 59, 1939, pp. 1—16; the stela of Sargon II from Kition in D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* II, Chicago 1927, nr. 179—189. For the general background, see R. Labat in *Fischer Weltgeschichte* IV, Frankfurt 1967, pp. 9—111.

[47] V. Karageorghis, *Salamis, Recent Discoveries in Cyprus*, New York 1969, pp. 76—98 ('tomb 79').

[48] E. Reiner in W. Röllig (ed.), *Altorientalische Literaturen, Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft* I, Wiesbaden 1978, p. 157. My attention was drawn to this fact by A. R. Millard.

[49] R. A. Bowman, *Aramaic ritual texts from Persepolis*, Chicago 1970, pp. 17—19.

[50] J. Hoftijzer, G. van der Kooij, *Aramaic Texts from Deir ʿAlla*, Leiden 1976.

[51] Published by E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*, Leipzig 1911, pp. 147—182, Pls. 40—50; see E. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, Leipzig 1912, pp. 102—128; F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendell Harris, A. Smith Lewis, *The Story of Aḥiḳar from the Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Old Turkish, Greek and Slavonic Versions*, London 1913²; P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte*, Paris 1972, pp. 427—452. Democritus *Vorsokr.* 68 B 299 seems to be apocryphal, but the title Ἀκίχαρος in the list of works of Theophrastus, Diog. Laert. 5,50 is to be taken seriously, cf. Eudemus, supra n. 34.

explain the influence of *Gilgameš* or *Atraḫasis* on the biblical story of the flood as well as the echoes of *Atraḫasis* and *Enuma eliš* in Greek. At any rate the Greeks will have been confronted with the leather scroll, διφθέρα, as well as with the writing tablet, δέλτος, when they learnt to write. Carl Wendel has proved that the layout of a Greek book, the *Buchbeschreibung*, is dependent on the conventions used in the cuneiform tablets, transmitted via the Aramaean scrolls.[52] It was only one or two generations later, as it seems, that Egyptian papyrus, βύβλος, became the most common writing material.

One might still be tempted to say that more surprising, and more important, than the fact that there is some Oriental influence on the beginnings of Greek literacy is the observation that there is so little of it. It has even been claimed that Greek civilization is unique in this respect, to develop literacy without a dominating outward influence and without the importation of "other cultural features".[53] The Oriental influence, even in the Orientalizing period, definitely cannot be compared with the impact of Greek on Latin literature, or Latin on medieval Europe. I would rather find some analogy in the role of Islamic culture in the period of the Crusades: Arabian and Persian literature and science did not leave very many permanent traces and just a few loanwords in the development of Western civilization, and still these contacts were decisive for the transformations occurring and for the new spirit emerging in the 12th century. Eighth-century Greece already had a strong artistic and literary inheritance of its own—thanks to oral poetry, among other things—and it did not succumb to foreign domination. Still, the birth of Greek literature in the full sense, i.e. as written literature, required the assistance of more than one Eileithyia. And without prejudice we should acknowledge that some impulse came from the East.

This paper has dwelt on the possibilities of literary contacts, in the realm of books and texts. This is where we may hope to find some precise documentation. Nevertheless we must not forget that literacy and semi-literacy remained embedded in a sphere of oral tradition and transmission; folktales may easily transcend language barriers. At the same time, the independent sign system of iconography would spread with increasing trade and imports, it would account for further adoptions of foreign motifs but also for new inventions by creative misunderstanding. Contacts would be provided by the mobile part of the population; among them, Homer, in a well-known passage, enumerates the craftsman, the diviner, the doctor, and the singer.[54] We should not credit them with a Hellenocentric and narrow horizon, even in the eighth century B.C.

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Discussion

N. Marinatos: Could you comment on the readiness of the Greeks of the 8th century to incorporate Oriental traits in their literature? Of course they did not simply copy them but they assimilated them.

W. Burkert: A biologist would say that the prerequisite for intelligence is curiosity and the Greeks *were* curious. Of course, they did not just copy Oriental tales but digested and transformed them. For example the *Dios Apate* is totally different in spirit from the *Enuma eliš*, which is an official text for the official celebration of honouring the gods. The *Dios Apate* is not a recitation of a sacred tale but a re-elaboration in a new spirit.

J. Schäfer: You talked about two sides, one Greek, the other Oriental. Is there any relation in the field of stylistic form?

W. Burkert: Yes there is, although it is difficult to evaluate because the language structures are very different. Classical Akkadian epic has clear formulaic lines similar to Homeric formulas. Verbal repetition is found in Hittite and Ugaritic epic also. But an element of caution should be added: we have to keep in mind that we are dealing with different traditions—oral and written. Even so, in both cultures gods have epithets and there are other similarities as well. I would not press them too far, however.

B. C. Dietrich: One of the elements of comparison that you mentioned was the division of the *kosmos* into three realms, sky, sea and underworld, in Homer, which is derived from the East. In Homer, however, there is a moral content. When Poseidon quarrels with Zeus, the former has to give in because Zeus is the eldest *kata moiran*. Is this moral content Homeric or borrowed from the East?

W. Burkert: Both moral and physical strength are actually involved in Homer, since there is no doubt that Zeus is stronger than Poseidon. Poseidon prefers to use moral arguments, to retreat with grace rather than having to do so in humiliation. But in the East the content is even less moral. Enlil, the storm god, is definitely stronger.

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[52] C. Wendel, *Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung verglichen mit der des Vorderen Orients*, Halle 1949, esp. p. 28.

[53] J. Goody, J. Watt, in *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, Cambridge 1968, p. 42. — For other suggestions of literary traditions from Orient to Greece, see M. L. West, *Hesiod Work and Days*, Oxford 1978, pp. 3—25 on wisdom literature; "Near Eastern Material in Hellenistic and Roman Literature", *HSCP* 73, 1968, pp. 113—134; D. Fehling, "Zur Funktion und Formgeschichte des Proömiums in der älteren griechischen Prosa", in *ΔΩΡΗΜΑ H. Diller zum 70. Geburtstag*, Athens 1975, pp. 61—75.

[54] *Od.* 17,383—385.

The Structure of the Amazonia (Aethiopis)[1]

by
E. Christian Kopff

I

There exists a group of vases, dated to the Hellenistic Age, decorated with illustrations from literary works. Called "Homeric bowls" by Carl Robert,[2] they form a sub-set of the pottery commonly referred to as "Megarian ware". Their subject matter ranges over ancient epic and tragedy, including such arcane work as Sophocles' lost tragedy, *Athamas*. One set of Homeric bowls (Robert's D; MB 23—26 Sinn) portrays three scenes, all clearly labeled: Priam supplicating Achilles (presumably for the body of his son, Hector); Priam greeting the Amazon queen, Penthesilea, before the tomb of Hector; Achilles confronting Penthesilea in battle. Penthesilea appeared in the *Amazonia*[3] which we are told in the ancient summaries began the famous lost epic, *Aethiopis*. Since Robert this set of bowls has been interpreted as presenting a mixture of scenes from two literary works, a mixture unique in Homeric bowls. I propose to make the more natural assumption that when two scenes on a set of objects come from one source, so does the third, especially when the set belongs to a series that typically shows scenes from only one work a bowl. This assumption and discrete use of Ockham's razor suggests a beginning for *Aethiopis* rather different from that provided by other ancient evidence.

Our knowledge of the poems of the so-called "epic cycle" is split into two quite distinct and separate, but related, traditions. One branch (H) is represented by the Homeric bowls, the origins of which may now be dated to the last quarter of the third century B.C.[4] They show, *inter alia*, scenes from *Iliad, Odyssey, Cypria, Aethiopis, Ilias Micra* of Lesches, *Nostoi*, and various Greek tragedies, mainly Euripidean. Each bowl shows scenes from one literary work. (The "contamination" of two different works posited for the "*Aethiopis* bowls" [MB 23—26 Sinn] is not found on other bowls.) These scenes are often labeled, sometimes with the title or author of the work that is the source.

The second branch (C) is much more complex and is itself divided into many subdivisions. Found both in manuscripts and artistic representations, it is derived from an attempt to show the events of the Trojan War as a continuous narrative from its origins to the Sack of Troy and the Returns of the Greek Heroes.[5] In written form, we have summaries of the poems of the epic cycle, such as that in the *Chrestomathia* of Proclus (fifth century, A.D., as it seems), found in the early Byzantine Middle Ages in manu-

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[1] This essay expands and replaces pp. 930—931 of my article "Virgil and the Cyclic Epics," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 31.2, Berlin/New York 1981, pp. 919—947, which also contains a brief bibliography and discussion of some basic problems. Fortunate limitations of space prevent the following notes from attempting more than introductions to the many and complex issues raised. The present form of this essay owes much to the helpfulness of the staffs of the Swedish Institute in Athens and the American Academy in Rome and discussion with the participants in the Symposium, especially Professor W. Burkert, Director R. Hägg, and Doctors N. Marinatos and O. Murray.

[2] From Suetonius, *Nero* 47.1: "duos scyphos gratissimi usus, quos Homerios a caelatura carminum Homeri vocabat. . . ." Some useful works include Carl Robert, "Homerische Becher," *Fünfzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste der Archaeologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, Berlin 1890, pp. 1—98; U. Hausmann, *Hellenistische Reliefbecher aus attischen und böotischen Werkstätten*, Stuttgart 1959; U. Sinn, *Die homerischen Becher. Hellenistische Reliefkeramik aus Makedonien*, Berlin 1979. I shall cite the bowls from Sinn, whose recent book includes earlier bibliography and clarifies many problems.

[3] 'Αμαζονία is found as a work of Homer in Suda's article on Homer. Although modern scholars use the title for convenience' sake to refer to the first part of *Aethiopis*, or to the hypothetical separate poem later attached to the beginning of *Aethiopis* (see infra n. 29), there is no evidence that the title was so used in Antiquity.

[4] Excavations at Demetrias allow a more secure dating; see Sinn (supra n. 2), pp. 37—40; U. Hausmann, "Der Iphigenie-Becher aus dem Piräus", *Wandlungen. Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst Ernst Homann-Wedeking gewidmet*, Munich 1975, p. 227.

[5] Ed. Schwartz, "Apollodorus" 61, *RE* I (1894), col. 2884: "Der epische Cyclus will kein Bild von den Epen geben — die Gedichte selbst und sonderlich ihre Ökonomie taugten ja nichts —, sondern die ἀκολουθία τῶν πραγμάτων, eine fortlaufende Erzählung."

scripts of *Iliad* and of the ninth century, A.D. Byzantine scholar and statesman, Photius.[6] Proclus summarizes the events of the Trojan War, omitting the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and divides the narrative according to the epics that told of the events that took place. The summary of the story of the Trojan War, including the plots of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, found in the text of the epitome of the *Library* of Apollodorus (second century, A.D.) derives ultimately from the same source as Proclus.[7]

In art we have a wide variety of representations, related to the famous *tabula iliaca capitolina* composed by Theodorus in the early Augustan era; fragments of many other "Iliac tablets";[8] sequences of paintings such as those found in the Casa del Criptoportico and Casa del Sacello Iliaco in Pompeii[9] and presumably the "bellum Iliacum plurimis tabulis, quod est Romae in Philippi porticibus" attributed to Theorus by Pliny, *Natural History* 34.144;[10] and other related scenes, such as that found on the sarcophagus lid showing Penthesilea's entrance into Troy, now in the Villa Borghese.[11] This second tradition (C) cannot be traced before Theodorus' time, the late first century, B.C. It has an iconography distinct from tradition H, the Homeric bowls. Compare, for instance, the parallel scenes showing the rescue of Aeneas by Poseidon, the confrontation of Lycaon and Achilles, and the meeting of Priam and Penthesilea.[12] To take the last example, as clearest and most relevant, in H, the Homeric bowls, Penthesilea shakes hands with Priam before the clearly marked tomb of Hector; in C, the tomb of Hector is missing and Penthesilea leads or rides a horse. C attempts to form a regular continuous narrative of the Trojan War. There is evidence that events which contradict or overlap with scenes in *Iliad* are removed or modified. There is most confusion over the beginnings and endings of poems. One Iliac tablet (3C) implies that the battle in which Chryseis is captured and her delivery to Agamemnon took place in *Iliad*.[13] There is considerable unclarity over the presence of the quarrel over the arms of Achilles in different poems within the cycle.[14] The narrative of the Sack of Troy is attributed to Stesichorus in one part of C (*tabula iliaca* 1A)[15] and to Arctinus in another (Proclus). And so on.

The two branches, H and C, both go back ultimately to the text of *Aethiopis*.[16] H is a simple tradition; C complex and interpolated, a "tradizione aperta" in Giorgio Pasquali's language.[17] H may be dated to the end of the third century, B.C.; gives only one literary work a bowl; and has a distinctive iconography. C cannot be found before the late first century, B.C.; gives a continuous narrative of the Trojan War; and has its own iconography. We might attempt a stemmatic representation somewhat as *Fig. 1*.[18]

We need both traditions, H and C, to reconstruct the poems of the epic cycle, but we must be aware of the different traditions' strengths and weaknesses. C gives us a fuller and more detailed account of the epics, but it is prone to assimilation and is especially unreliable about the beginnings and endings of the works described.

II

I believe that a "stemmatic" analysis of the various sources of our knowledge of *Aethiopis* leads us to the conclusion that C, the common source of Theodorus, Proclus and the rest, has misrepresented the begin-

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[6] The evidence for Proclus is conveniently discussed by T. W. Allen, *Homer. The Origins and the Transmission*, Oxford 1924, pp. 51—55. The Suda article places him in the fifth century A.D., but second century dates have been suggested by, e.g. F. G. Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus oder die homerischen Dichter* I, Bonn 1835 (²1884), pp. 3—7; see A. Rzach, "Kyklos", *RE* XI (1922), col. 2351.

[7] A good discussion in Ed. Schwartz (supra n. 5), cols. 2875—2886.

[8] A. Sadurska, *Les tables iliaques*, Warsaw 1964; see also O. Jahn (-A. Michaelis), *Griechische Bilderchroniken*, Bonn 1873; U. Mancuso, *La 'Tabula Iliaca' del Museo Capitolino*, Rome 1911.

[9] See Fr. Aurigemma, "Appendice: tre nuovi cicli di figurazioni ispirate all'Iliade in case della via dell'Abbondanza", in V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di via dell' Abbondanza (anni 1910—1923)* II, Rome 1953, pp. 869—901.

[10] That Theorus is not Theodorus, see Sadurska (supra n. 8), pp. 9—10.

[11] W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th rev. ed. by H. Speier, II, Tübingen 1966, pp. 721—722, no. 1961 (B. Andreae); K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, Cambridge, Mass. 1959 (Martin Classical Lectures 16), pp. 44—46.

[12] Brief analyses in Weitzmann (supra n. 11), pp. 37—39 (Lycaon-Achilles); pp. 43—46 (Penthesilea-Priam); p. 145, n. 20 (Poseidon-Aeneas).

[13] The first three scenes on tablet 3C are 1) Achilles and Diomedes dividing spoils; 2) Chryseis led away in fetters; 3) Chryseis supplicating Agamemnon. That scenes 1) and 2) "took place at the very end of *Cypria*" (Weitzmann, supra n. 11, p. 42) was the conclusion of Jahn-Michaelis (supra n. 8), pp. 9—10, but is doubted by Sadurska (supra n. 8), p. 41; N. Horsfall, "Stesichorus at Bovillae?", *JHS* 99, 1979, p. 47.

[14] See Carl Robert, *Bild und Lied*, Berlin 1881 (Philologische Untersuchungen 5), pp. 222—224; M. Schmidt, "Troika", diss. Göttingen 1917, pp. 12—29; Rzach (supra n. 6), cols. 2352—2353.

[15] Schmidt (supra n. 14), pp. 60—93; Horsfall (supra n. 13), pp. 26—48.

[16] Weitzmann (supra n. 12) first pointed out the iconographical differences between H and C, but his acceptance of "contamination" of *Iliad* and *Aethiopis* on MB 23—26 Sinn caused him to have "little doubt regarding the dependence of the Megarian bowl (= MB 23—26 Sinn) on the 'epic cycle' (= C)" (supra n. 11), p. 44.

[17] G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 2nd ed., Florence 1952.

[18] Separation of H and C: Weitzmann (supra n. 12); relation of Proclus and Apollodorus: R. Wagner, *Mythographi Graeci* I. *Apollodorus*, Lepizig 1894; connection of Proclus and Iliac tablets: Jahn-Michaelis (supra n. 8), pp. 26, 83, 87; Horsfall (supra n. 13), p. 46, nn. 167, 168, p. 47, n. 176 (although I do not share his reservations); connection of Iliac tablets and wall paintings: similarities: Weitzmann (supra n. 11), pp. 37—38; A. Sadurska, *Eos* 53, 1963, pp. 35—36; differences: K. Schefold, *Wort und Bild*, Basel 1975, p. 129 with note 636, which contains references to Aurigemma (supra n. 9), pp. 926—928, 937, 939—41, 948.

ning of *Aethiopis* and that we must accept an *Aethiopis* which included at least the supplication of Achilles by Priam for the body of Hector, as H suggests. This scene presupposes the death of Hector.[19] Now there is a tradition in both art and literature about the death of Hector that is at least as common as the Iliadic version. It would make sense to attribute it to a major source. The variant is found in literature at Sophocles, *Ajax* 1031; Euripides, *Andromache* 107—108, 399 in Greek tragedy; and in later sources at Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.483; 2.272—73, 286; Curtius Rufus 4.6.29;[20] *Palatine Anthology* 7.151, 152; and in many artistic representations from the time of the Roman Empire.[21] In this version Achilles slays Hector by tieing the Trojan's feet to his chariot with the girdle given Hector by Ajax (see *Iliad* 7.303—305) and then dragging Hector to his death around the walls of Troy before family and fellow citizens. Achilles's charioteer, Automedon, is often present in pictures of this scene.[22] (In *Iliad* Achilles slays Hector in a regular battle before the walls the Troy and then drags his corpse from Troy to the Greek ships where he proceeds to desecrate it by dragging it around the tomb of his best friend, Patroclus, whose death is described in *Iliad* 16.)

Achilles' savagery in this account has a parallel in another famous scene. On one wall of the François Tomb in Vulci, Italy, there is a painting (now in the Museo Torlonia in Rome) of Achilles' sacrificing Trojan captives to the ghost of Patroclus, a scene which differs in several respects from the scene as we know it from *Iliad* 23.179—182. Some of the differences involve the intrusion of Etruscan divinities into the scene, but others, such as the presence of Agamemnon and the two Ajaces (clearly marked as Telamonian and Oilian) seem to be Greek and have no parallel in the Iliadic account. F. Messerschmidt showed that there are many representations of the scene, all going back to a fifth-century Greek original.[23] The representations typically and the painter of the François Tomb especially emphasize the brutality of the sacrifice and the suffering of the captives. The version we possess in *Iliad* 23.179—182 seems to be an abbreviated account from a fuller version, which the painting in the François Tomb helps us to reconstruct.

III

I would like to digress to avoid confusion. I have relied on evidence in art and literature mainly from the Hellenistic and Roman eras, because there is no serious doubt in these cases that the relevant sources go back to *Aethiopis* and other poems of the epic cycle. There is some confirmation for my reconstruction from earlier periods and I refer to this evidence where convenient. Often, however, it is difficult to be sure that earlier artistic representations derive directly from literary sources and not from myth, folktale, or

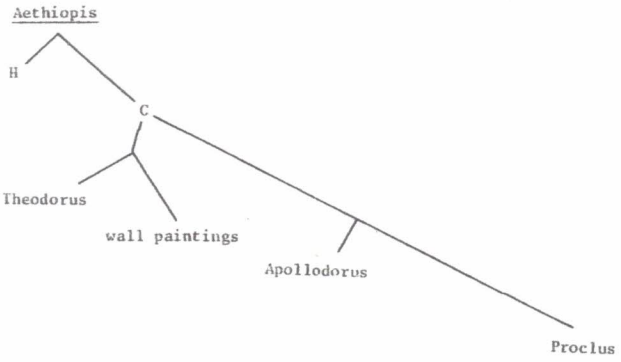

Fig. 1.

a hypothetical *Ur-Kyklos*, oral and not literary in nature.[24] So, for instance, most artistic representations of Amazonomachies involve Hercules, not Achilles.[25] There are some Archaic and Classical vases that have pictures of Achilles and Amazons, including Penthesilea, which are clearly labeled, though even they seem to reflect the iconography of Herculean Amazonomachies. The earliest picture of a warrior fighting an Amazon, on a terracotta votive shield from Tiryns, is taken by many to represent Achilles and Penthesilea.[26] Certainly there is nothing to indicate that the warrior is Hercules. The shield is dated to ca. 700 B.C. and could be evidence for an eighth century *Aethiopis*. Some distinguished authorities believe that the shield shows us Hercules, as do most Archaic il-

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[19] Cf. E. Bethe, "Aithiopis", *RE* I (1894), col. 1103, of the epic of Penthesilea: "Voraussetzung für diesen vermutlich nicht grosser Gesang war der Tod Hektors."

[20] J. E. Atkinson, *A Commentary on Q. Curtius Rufus' "Historiae Alexandri Magni" Books 3 and 4*, Amsterdam/Uithoorn 1980, p. 341 on 4.6.26—29: "Alexander treats Betis as Achilles did Hector: . . . Curtius is the only one to draw attention to the link with the legend of Achilles and Hector, but the reference is awkward not least because Hector was dead when Achilles dragged his corpse behind his chariot, but Betis was still alive."

[21] These artistic representations are now being re-studied by Professor Martin Kilmer, University of Ottawa.

[22] K. Bulas, *Les illustrations antiques de l'Iliade*, Lwow 1929 (*Eos* Supplementum 3) discusses the Hellenistic versions, pp. 92—96, but shows, pp. 18—23, that even archaic versions, which clearly show the tomb of Patroclus, may include Automedon.

[23] F. Messerschmidt, "Probleme der etruskischen Malerei des Hellenismus", *JdI* 45, 1930, pp. 62—90.

[24] Schefold (supra n. 18), pp. 27—28; W. Kullmann, *Die Quellen der Ilias*, Wiesbaden 1960 (*Hermes* Einzelschriften 14), p. 4.

[25] D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford 1957.

[26] E.g., von Bothmer (supra n. 25), p. 1—2; K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen*, Berlin 1969, p. 177; R. Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien*, Athens 1936, p. 81; idem, *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*, Tübingen 1952, pp. 30, 45, n. 23; H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950, pp. 170—171; cf. *BSA* 42, 1947, p. 135, n. 4.

lustrations.[27] At any rate, one can hardly date or reconstruct *Aethiopis* from this isolated piece of evidence. To take another example from the other side of Antiquity, a clear representation of the slaying of Penthesilea by Achilles on a painted shield from Dura Europos (third century A.D.), though not doubtful in content, seems to reflect in iconography the Amazonomachy of the Shield of Athena Parthenos of Phidias.[28]

I have therefore ignored much interesting evidence that is not probative to concentrate on evidence that I believe is. A "stemmatic" analysis of evidence that clearly goes back to the literary *Aethiopis* gives us the supplication of Achilles by Priam as part of *Aethiopis*. A reasonable hypothesis that extends *Aethiopis* further back in time is confirmed as much as such a hypothesis can be by the existence of deeply-rooted non-Iliadic traditions.

IV

How do these discoveries affect what we can know of the interpretation of *Aethiopis*? Here we enter a more speculative area, but one worth at least discussing. It will not affect the validity of the first two parts of this essay. Many good scholars believe that *Aethiopis* should be interpreted in the narrow sense of the epic of Memnon the Ethiopian, a *Memnonis*.[29] This is largely because the Proclan story of Penthesilea is a mere fragment attached to *Iliad*. With this new interpretation, following the evidence of H, Penthesilea may resume her place as an integral part of a great epic. Although I shall discuss the influence of *Aethiopis* on *Iliad* 24, it is, of course, possible that influence went in the reverse direction or that the two works were contemporary or, at least, independent. I trust that hypotheses on these moot points will not affect readers' acceptance of other arguments.

Iliad 24 shows a changing Achilles, a man beginning to understand the implications of war and heroism. I believe that *Aethiopis* did the same. Achilles appears first as a savage and relentless warrior, who slays his enemy ruthlessly before wife and child, mother and father, and fellow citizens. He may have sold Hector's body back to his father by weighing it in a scale, as we see in Aeschylus' *Phrygians* and the *crûche de Berthouville*.[30] Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojan captives, a scene rather passed over in *Iliad*, may have been equally savage, as the François Tomb painting tends to suggest.

The sarcophagus lid from the Villa Borghese suggests that a lament of Andromache with her son, Astyanax, followed and then the arrival of Penthesilea.[31] It is reasonable to place the lament at the burial of Hector. (See the end of *Iliad* 24.) The transitional lines may have survived. The T-scholia to *Iliad* 24.804 provides as a variant two lines of transition from Hector's burial to the arrival of Penthesilea:[32]

ὣς οἵ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος· ἦλθε δ' Ἀμαζών
Ἄρηος θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο.

"den keine überlieferung, sondern nur moderne willkür für den anfang der Aithiopis ausgibt."[33] Erich Bethe vainly urges, "Ähnlich war auch die Ilias mit den Kyprien verbunden: Anecdot. Osanni ἔσπετε νῦν. Ein prooimion s. 'Kleine Ilias' Frg. 1".[34] The prooemiums he cites begin traditionally with either second person imperatives to the Muses, or the first person singular of the poet. Imperatives are found in the other parallels cited by scholars from Welcker on.[35] Ancient epics began with invocations of the Muse(s) or proclamations by the poet, not with a Xenophontean μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα.

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[27] E. Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder*, Berlin 1950 (Olympische Forschungen II), p. 151, n. 1; F. Brommer, *Herakles. Die zwölf Taten des Helden in antiker Kunst und Literatur*, Cologne 1953, p. 72, n. 41 (cf. *Gnomon* 30, 1958, p. 346); K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder*, Basel 1964, p. 22.

[28] K. Weitzmann, *Age of Spirituality*, Princeton 1979, pp. 223—24, no. 200 (Malcolm Bell).

[29] Scholars who feel that *Amazonia* existed as an epic separate from *Memnonis* (= *Aethiopis*) include C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* I, Regimontii Prussorum 1829, p. 417; E. Bethe (supra n. 19), col. 1103; Rzach (supra n. 6), col. 2398 and most Neoanalytiker, e.g. H. Pestalozzi, *Die Achilleis als Quelle der Ilias*, Zürich 1945, p. 5; W. Schadewaldt, "Einblick in die Erfindung der Ilias: Ilias und Memnonis", *Von Homers Welt und Werk*, 4th ed., Stuttgart 1965, pp. 155—202 = *Varia variorum. Festgabe für K. Reinhardt*, Cologne 1952, pp. 13—48.

[30] Aeschylus, *Phryges* fr. 254 Mette; cf. F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, 2nd ed., Köln 1960, p. 331, D3; Bulas (supra n. 22), pp. 96—104, discusses the weighing scenes in Roman art.

[31] Weitzmann (supra n. 11), p. 45, uses the sarcophagus lid to show that Andromache's lament "is the initial scene of the *Aethiopis*".

[32] H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)*, V, Berlin 1977, p. 642; see H. J. M. Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1927, p. 20 for the variant with Penthesilea's mother, Otrere: Ὀτρήρης θυγάτηρ εὐειδὴς Πενθεσίλεια.

[33] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1884 (Philologische Untersuchungen 7), p. 373.

[34] E. Bethe, *Homer. Dichtung und Sage*, II.2.4, Leipzig/Berlin 1929, p. 129 = *Der Troische Epenkreis*, Darmstadt 1966, p. 20.

[35] Welcker (supra n. 6), p. 214 cited Hesiod, *Theogony* 1021—1022 = *Catalogue of Women*, fr. 1.1—2 Merkelbach-West. G. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry*, Cambridge, Mass. 1969, p. 147: "Here the linkings of the end of Hesiod's *Theogony* to the *Catalogues of Women*, of *Catalogues* Book iv to the *Shield* and of the *Days* to the *Ornithomanteia* are analogous." The *Catalogue* begins with an invocation to the Muses, as does the expansion that begins at *Th.* 963. We do not know how *Ornithomanteia* began (see R. Merkelbach-M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, Oxford 1967, p. 157), although I doubt it lacked an invocation. The expansion of one of the many *Ehoiae* by a brief tale of Hercules, of course, bears no resemblance to the linking of independent epics, as the linking by an invocation to the muses of *Iliad* and *Cypria*, recorded in Anecdotum Romanum, reported by Bethe (supra n. 34) under the name "Anecdot. Osanni."

The two lines could not be the beginning of an epic poem, but no more could a major theme be introduced as a line and a half conclusion to *Iliad*, as Wilamowitz suggested. The scholia may not be giving us a variant for the end of *Iliad*, but a variant for the line itself, drawn from *Aethiopis*, not at the beginning, but later. The lines make most sense as a transition from the first sequence of *Aethiopis* to the second, from the death, ransoming, and burial of Hector to the arrival of the Amazon queen. Such brief summaries which are then expanded are fully in epic style.[36]

Troy now hopes in the great Amazon queen and warrior, Penthesilea. Art shows her arrival, compact with Priam, and the arming of her soldiers. She wins some victories, as Proclus tells us and as Virgil's imitation in *Aeneid* 11 suggests, but in the end she falls fighting Achilles. Thersites, the ugly plebeian we know from *Iliad* 2,[37] mocks Achilles for his remorse (suggesting that Achilles is in love?[38]) and even desecrates her body, putting out an eye, according to the Scholia to Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 445 (364 Papageorgius). In fury Achilles slays Thersites and must then be purged of blood pollution by the wiser and calmer Odysseus. This is the prelude to Achilles' final battle with a true peer, another son of a goddess, Memnon the Ethiopian, son of the Dawn, and Achilles' own death in the Scaean Gate at the hands of Paris and Apollo (see *Iliad* 22.359-360). For many years it has been clear that parts of *Iliad* could be most easily understood as influenced by *Aethiopis*,[39] especially the rescue of Nestor in *Iliad* 8,[40] the arrival of Thetis and the Nereids to mourn Patroclus in *Iliad* 18,[41] and certain parts of the battle of Sarpedon and Patroclus in *Iliad* 16, such as the weighing of the fates and the carrying off of the body of the loser by Death and Sleep.[42] Virgil indicates that there were passages in *Iliad* and *Aethiopis* that were at least parallel, such as the divine armor made by Hephaestus for the heroes, Achilles (*Iliad* 18) and Memnon.[43]

The *Amazonia* that was reported as beginning *Aethiopis* found little place in this scholarly discussion.[44] It seemed a mere fragment, added to fill out the ἀκολουθία τῶν πραγμάτων. With this new reconstruction, which began with a reassessment of the value of the evidence of the Homeric bowls, we can glimpse an influence on or parallelism to *Iliad* 24. In *Iliad* 24 Achilles confronts Hector's broken father and remembers his own. He is led to an understanding of and perhaps even compassion for human suffering that he had lacked. In *Aethiopis* Achilles meets an opponent as beautiful and gallant as himself. This confrontation does not lead to mercy, but to a feeling for the vanity and hopelessness of his angry, driven heroic accomplishments. He sees that "the paths of glory lead but to the grave". His first response is an outburst of that irrational savagery which he feared would break out when he confronts Priam in *Iliad* 24.568—571, but he then learns to accept the control and moderation of Odysseus. (See the contrast of the two men in *Iliad* 19.145—237.) We see why he was not fighting when Memnon arrives and attacks Nestor and kills Antilochus, the Patroclus of *Aethiopis*. We shall never know, unless the gods that guard the sands of Egypt smile upon us, why he attacked Troy so futily after the death of Memnon. (Compare Patroclus' charge against Troy in *Iliad* 16.684—711 and Achilles' address at *Iliad* 22.376—394.) The reason may have been the despair of human achievement, of human accomplishment that he glimpsed for the first time when he looked upon the face of the beautiful Penthesilea. (See the famous Penthesilea cup, fifth century B.C., in Munich.)

If *Iliad* 24 followed *Aethiopis*, as seems most reasonable to me, it is no wonder that that great poet

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[36] See, e.g., *Iliad* 1.8—12; 5.1—3. Brief summarizing introduction followed by expansion is typical of catalogues, similes, and battle narrative.

[37] See W. Kullmann, "Die Probe des Achaierheeres in der Ilias", *Museum Helveticum* 12, 1955, pp. 270—272.

[38] Scholars often try to remove *eros* from early Greek literature, following Homer's bowdlerizing example; see G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 4th ed., Oxford 1934 ([1]1907), pp. 132—135; Kullmann (supra n. 24), pp. 46—47. The Munich Penthesilea vase does not contradict the tradition. It is compared with the Tiryns terracotta votive by Hampe, *Gleichnisse* (supra n. 26), pp. 38—39, plates 21—22.

[39] The Neoanalytiker had a predecessor in O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich 1906, pp. 680—683 and notes. For bibliography, see Kopff (supra n. 1), p. 922, n. 20. Attacks include U. Hölscher, *Gnomon* 27, 1955, pp. 391—398; D. L. Page, *CR* n.s. 11, 1961, pp. 205—209; A. Dihle, *Homer-Probleme*, Opladen 1970, pp. 9—44 (cf. W. Kullmann, *Gnomon* 49, 1977, pp. 529—543). J. Griffin, "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer", *JHS* 97, 1977, pp. 39—53 demonstrates Homer's special qualities when compared with other archaic epics, which have been dated from the eighth to the sixth centuries, B.C. (his p. 39, n. 9) and authored on three continents. He does not attempt to show that Homer could not have been influenced by his inferiors, as was Shakespeare, or that the different epics were all of a piece.

[40] Welcker (supra n. 6), II[2], p. 174; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Ilias und Homer*, Berlin 1916, pp. 45—46, and Neoanalytiker from J. Th. Kakridis, *Homeric Researches*, Lund 1948 (Skrifter utg. av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, 49), p. 94.

[41] Kakridis (supra n. 40), pp. 65—75.

[42] *Kerostasie*: Welcker (supra n. 6), II[2], p. 175; Robert, *Bild und Lied* (supra n. 14), p. 143; Schadewaldt (supra n. 29), p. 164. Memnon and Sleep and Death: H. Brunn, "Troische Miszellen, dritte Abteilung", *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-philol. Klasse*, 1880, pp. 157—216 = *Kleine Schriften* III, Leipzig/Berlin 1906, pp. 104—134; see K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art*, Copenhagen 1967, pp. 255—256.

[43] Ed. Fraenkel, "Vergil und die Aithiopis", *Philologus* 87, 1932, pp. 242—248 = *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* II, Rome 1964, pp. 173—179; Kopff (supra n. 1).

[44] *Amazonia* is used against Pestalozzi and Schadewaldt (supra n. 29) by F. Focke, "Homerisches", *La nouvelle Clio* 3, 1951, pp. 335—337; Hölscher (supra n. 39), pp. 391—392.

was entranced by the wisdom of tragic self-knowledge he found in his predecessor and preserved it in his own way in the last book of the extant *Iliad*, a final fragrance of the vision of the poet of the *Amazonia* that began the great lost epic, *Aethiopis*.

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Discussion

O. Murray: What puzzles me is how are we to tell which is the source of which, when we have two such different poems as this. One of the things that has been said recently is that the rest of the Epic Cycle is far more blood-thirsty, and far more given to magnificent magical scenes than Homer (J. Griffin, "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer", *JHS* 97, 1977, pp. 39—53). If that is true in general of the rest of the Epic Cycle, then why not follow the normal view and see the rest of the Cycle dependent on Homer rather than the other way around?

E. C. Kopff: First I would distinguish between levels of methodological certainty in my paper. (a) The non-Proclan beginning I take to be a certain result of the 'stemmatic' analysis of the tradition. (b) The structure is a likely hypothesis, reasonably confirmed by the extant evidence. (c) Other points are by their nature more speculative, e.g. the meaning of *Aethiopis* and its relation to *the Iliad*. I am not certain that *Aethiopis* preceeded *Iliad*, but I believe that the literary critical evidence suggests that it did. Why otherwise did the poet of the *Iliad* choose the confrontation of Achilles with Hector and not with Memnon? Why so many references to Achilles' death, a theme of the *Aethiopis*?

W. Burkert: I agree that the arguments of the priority of the *Aethiopis* against the *Iliad* are to be taken seriously, though they may apply to earlier oral stages of this theme. But what strikes me is that the *Amazonomachia* does not really come in. From the point of view of narrative, the *Amazonomachia* is not the story of Achilles and Memnon, and all the comparisons apply to the story of Achilles and Memnon. The *Amazonomachia* is an additional theme that Achilles fights still another adversary, Penthesileia. It seems to me that it is just a coincidence that in the summary of Proclus the *Amazonomachia* takes part of the *Memnonis* and that both are labelled *Aethiopis*.

E. C. Kopff: Amazonia, as my title suggests, may have been a separate work. The title is very late (Suda, 10th cent. A.D.) and the great scholars who ignored it in working on *Aethiopis* were using Proclus' summary. In my interpretation, it provides a good introduction to the tale of Memnon and explains why Achilles was not fighting when Memnon first appears. The appearance of Achilles and Ajax in the beginning is balanced by their deaths at the end (*Hoplon krisis* and Ajax's suicide are attested for *Aethiopis*) leaving the less heroic but self-controlled Odysseus, as in Sophocles' *Ajax* and what we know of Arctinus' *Iliupersis*.

I believe that understanding the variant couplet preserved in *Iliad* scholia to 24,804 as a variant, not the end of *Iliad* or beginning of *Aethiopis*, is consistent with scholiastic practice and good epic technique.

The Extent and Use of Literacy; the Archaeological Evidence

by
Alan Johnston

This topic has been discussed several times of late, and in a sense I am merely embroidering the treatments of Jeffery, Guarducci, Page, Havelock, Robb and Heubeck.[1] There are also some corrections to be made, and I cite three quotations with which I take issue: 'on a conservative showing the Greeks of between 1100 and 650 achieved what they did without the help of any script' (Havelock, p. 346); 'although half a dozen other inscriptions date from the first quarter of the seventh century, none can be with assurance placed with the Dipylon (oenochoe) in the eighth' (Robb, p. 25); 'the consensus of modern scholarship places the invention of the Greek alphabet not earlier than the middle of the eighth century' (Robb, p. 24). A true appreciation of the material available at the time when those statements were made, as well as the discovery of further documents since, renders them at least highly dubious.

Most of the more recently unearthed material comes from Euboean sites, Eretria, Lefkandi and Pithekoussai; this statistic must however be tempered by the fact that it is precisely at such sites that excavation has tended to concentrate. The graffiti from Lefkandi and Eretria are very fragmentary and of little diagnostic value, but they should not therefore be pushed out of sight.[2] Much of the same character has been found at Pithekoussai, together with a number of more interesting pieces. Some thirty-five probably Greek alphabetic inscriptions to be dated before 675 have to my knowledge come to light there; only a small number have so far been published, not all of those with complete accuracy.[3] Many consist of single letters on burial amphorae, none of them with any obvious numerical import. The rest are also all on pots, both from graves and habitation debris.

There is no need to dwell on Nestor's cup here. Only one detail needs to be stressed: surely εἰμί is the correct reading in the lacuna in line 1.[4] The recent publication of an earlier piece (*Fig. 1*) of perhaps *c.* 740 with the same structure, genitive plus εἰμί, points to that conclusion.[5] This earlier graffito is on a storage jar of the same fabric as another inscribed vase (*Fig. 2*), this time from a more securely dated context of *c.* 740;[6] the fabric is also close to that of some of the inscribed sherds from Lefkandi[7] and the shape is undoubtedly Greek. Yet it has been demonstrated

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[1] L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, pp. 1—42; D. Page, "Archilochus and the Oral Tradition" in: *Archiloque* (= *Entretiens Hardt* X), pp. 119—125; E.A. Havelock, "Prologue to Greek Literacy", in: *Lectures in Memory of Louis Taft Semple*, second series, University of Oklahoma 1973, esp. pp. 331—347; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* I, Rome 1967, pp. 67—73 and most recently *RendLinc* 1978, pp. 381—388; K. Robb, "Poetic Sources of the Greek Alphabets", in: *Communication Arts in the Ancient World*, ed. by E.A. Havelock and J.P. Hershbell, New York 1978, pp. 23—36; A. Heubeck, *Schrift*, Göttingen 1979 (= *Archaeologia Homerica*, Bd. III, Kap. X), pp. 73—184, esp. 73—100. We may add a balanced survey of many of these views in A.M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*, London 1980, pp. 78—83.

[2] For an early dipinto from Eretria see ΣΤΗΛΗ, p. 528 n. 28; I am grateful to Professor Kahil for providing information on further early inscriptions. Lefkandi, *Lefkandi* I, ed. by M.R. Popham, L.H. Sackett and P.G. Themelis, London 1980, pp. 89—93 (with a contribution by L.H. Jeffery).

[3] This figure must be regarded as a minimum, although nearly all the inscribed LG I fragments have now been published. See in the latest instance Heubeck (supra n. 1), p. 123 (with Abb. 49 incomplete and Abb. 50 upside down). On outdated transcriptions of the Nestor cup see P.A. Hansen, *Glotta* 54, 1976, p. 28. Further inscribed material: *ParPass* 33, 1978, pp. 130—137 and *BSA* 73, 1978, p. 115 nos. 45 and 47 and p. 116 no. 14. I take one of the very earliest graffiti to be Phoenician, along with Rocco and McCarter (refs. cited by Heubeck, supra n. 1, n. 670). Some more material will be published in *Pithekoussai* I.

[4] Cf. Hansen (supra n. 3), p. 30.

[5] *ParPass* 33, 1978, pp. 135—137, Fig. 4; I detected traces of an oblique line suggesting that the letter following the alpha in line 1 (read from right to left) is a lambda.

[6] *ParPass* 33, 1978, pp. 131—134, Figs. 1—3.

[7] *Lefkandi* I, p. 95 no. 101 and ?100.

Fig. 1. Pithekoussai, amphora fragment, LG I.

Fig. 2. Pithekoussai, amphora, LG I. Two of the five graffiti on shoulder and handles. 1:2.

Fig. 3. Pithekoussai, fragment of lower wall of kotyle. 1:1.

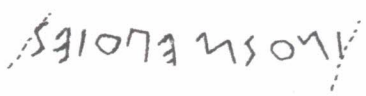

Fig. 4. Pithekoussai, dipinto signature on krater fragment, LG II. 1:1.

that the Pithekoussan amphora bears at least two Aramaic graffiti, as well as the terse Greek Φ|. The importance of these two letters needs to be stressed: one is an addition to the basic Semitic series, the other, iota, is a developed, simplified form of a Semitic model. While there is no guarantee that the two letters were cut at Pithekoussai, we can at the very least say that (*a*) they were cut by a Greek somewhere, (*b*) at a date reasonably close a Pithekoussan inscribed a similar piece using several letters typical of the (later) Euboean alphabet, including iota in the same form, and (*c*) perhaps contemporary is a sherd from Lefkandi giving another 'additional' letter, this time 'red' chi. I am prepared to accept Φ| as Pithekoussan therefore, and we should note that the Greek inscriber was using developed forms already at this date, while the Aramaic lettering *on the same vase* is of a completely different nature. Less developed forms of alpha and iota, together with additional 'blue' chi, appear on the Dipylon oenochoe (*Fig. 7*), if anything a little later. Therefore, on the one hand there is clear proof that the alphabet was not in its full infancy at Pithekoussai in *c.* 740, but on the other strong indications that its initial development, in general terms towards more geometric shapes (large or small G), was likely to have been rapid and not even-paced throughout the Greek world.[8] Both inscriptions use additional letters, but on the Dipylon vase the distinction between iota and sigma has not yet been made.

On a related point it should be noted that E. Peruzzi thought he saw both sigma and san in a fragmentary graffito on a skyphos sherd from Pithekoussai (*Fig. 3*);[9] the reading is scarcely acceptable since the presumed san is far more likely to have been a mu; the letter is not fully preserved. Whether mu or san be read the interpretation of the graffito remains perplexing. The four-bar sigma here is a rarity at Pithekoussai, as is the four-stroke mu. The latter is found in the very early signature on a krater fragment of *c.* 700 (*Fig. 4*). Curiously, the four-bar sigma is found in another early Western signature, that of Aristonothos, on a vase whose stylistic origins have been placed, *inter alia*, in Pithekoussai.[10]

The geographical range of known Greek inscriptions of the eighth or earliest seventh century is wide (*Fig. 5*). The most striking blanks are in Southern Greece and Ionia. To what extent can we build on

[8] Could it be that the retention by Cretans of a less altered alphabet was the result of a less deeply rooted Geometricism in local art?

[9] E. Peruzzi, *Origini di Roma* II, Bologna 1973, p. 26 and Pl. IV; J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977, p. 300.

[10] Pithekoussai fragment: *ArchRep* 1970—71, p. 67 Fig. 8; Heubeck (supra n. 1) 123, 6*d*. Aristonothos vase: *CVA Musei Capitolini* 2, pl. 8, M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* III, Rome 1974, pp. 477—78, and M.W. Frederiksen, "The Etruscans in Campania" in: *Italy before the Romans*, ed. by D. Ridgway and F.R. Ridgway, London 1979, p. 288.

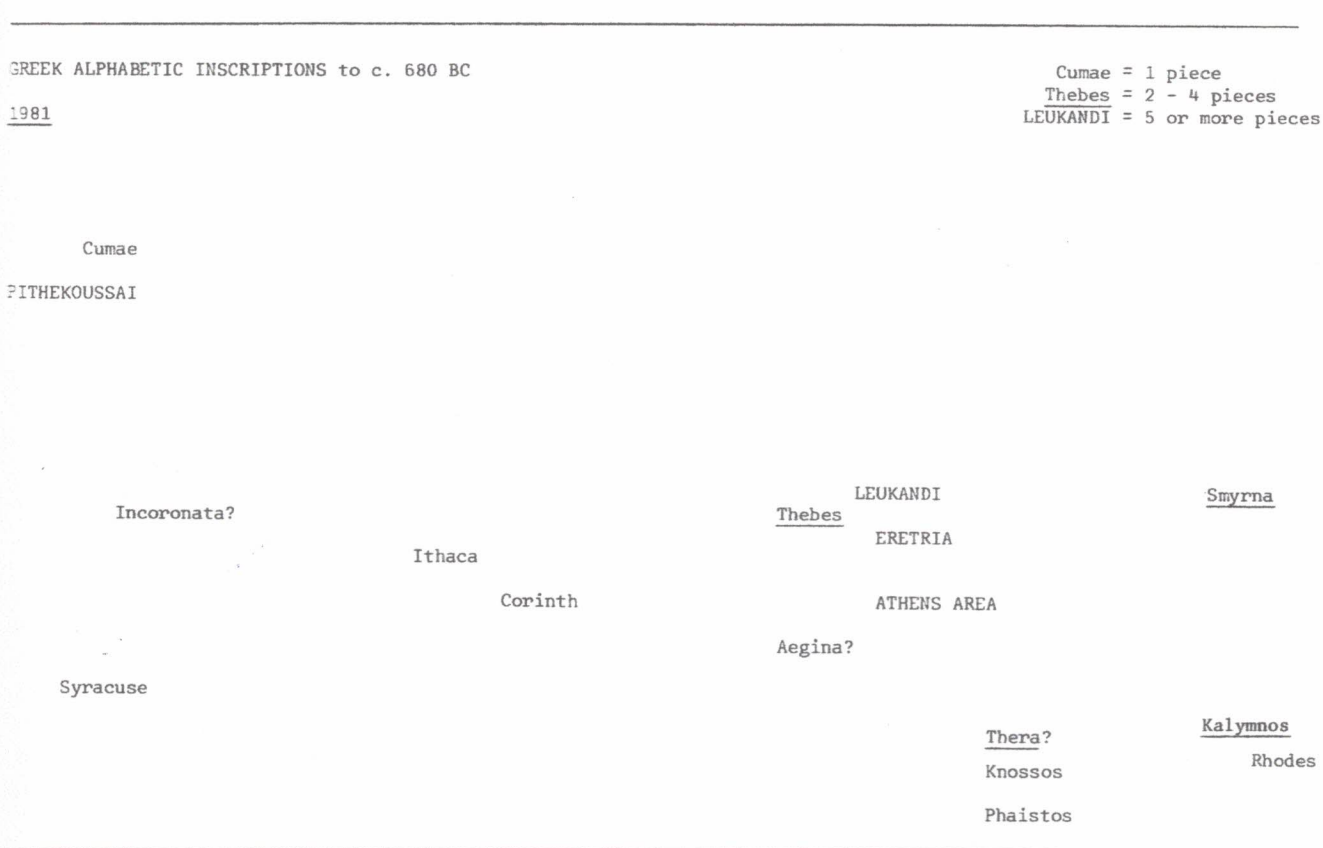
GREEK ALPHABETIC INSCRIPTIONS to c. 680 BC
1981
Cumae = 1 piece
Thebes = 2 - 4 pieces
LEUKANDI = 5 or more pieces
Cumae
PITHEKOUSSAI
Incoronata?
Ithaca
Corinth
Syracuse
LEUKANDI
Thebes
ERETRIA
ATHENS AREA
Aegina?
Smyrna
Thera?
Knossos
Phaistos
Kalymnos
Rhodes

Fig. 5.

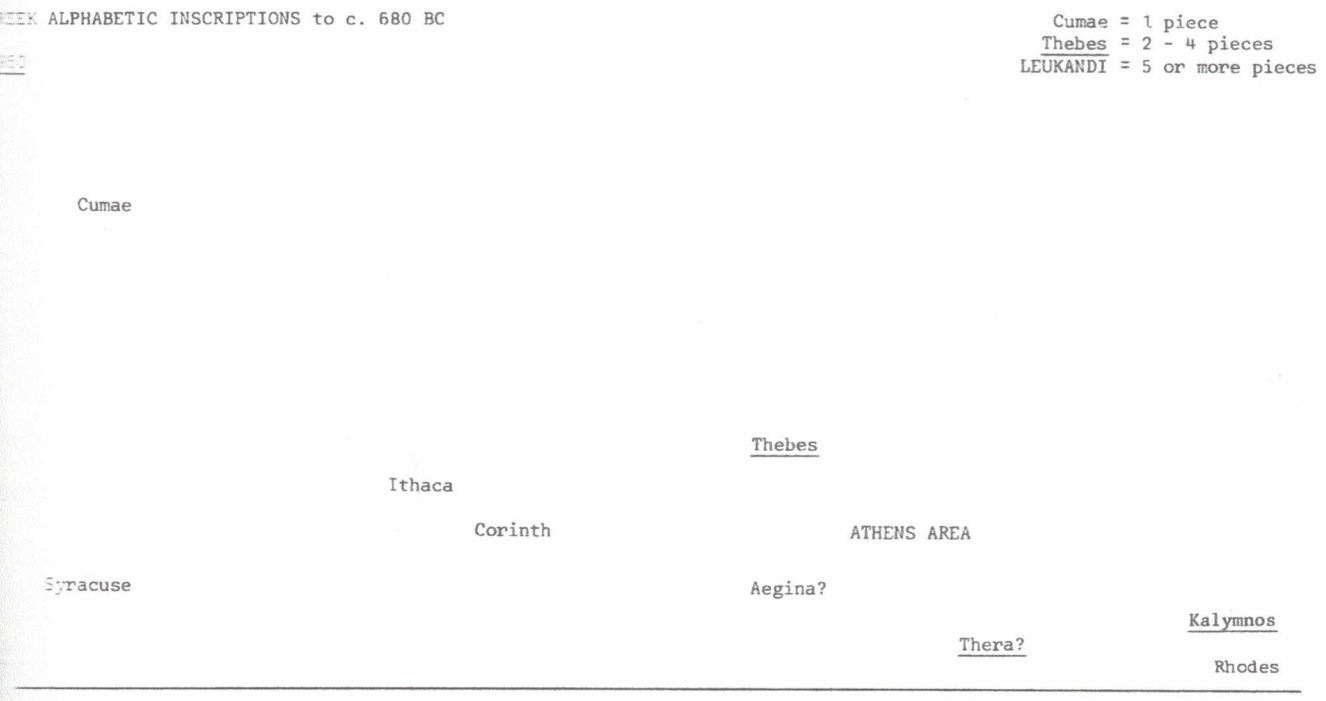
GREEK ALPHABETIC INSCRIPTIONS to c. 680 BC
1982
Cumae = 1 piece
Thebes = 2 - 4 pieces
LEUKANDI = 5 or more pieces
Cumae
Thebes
Ithaca
Corinth
Syracuse
ATHENS AREA
Aegina?
Thera?
Kalymnos
Rhodes

Fig. 6.

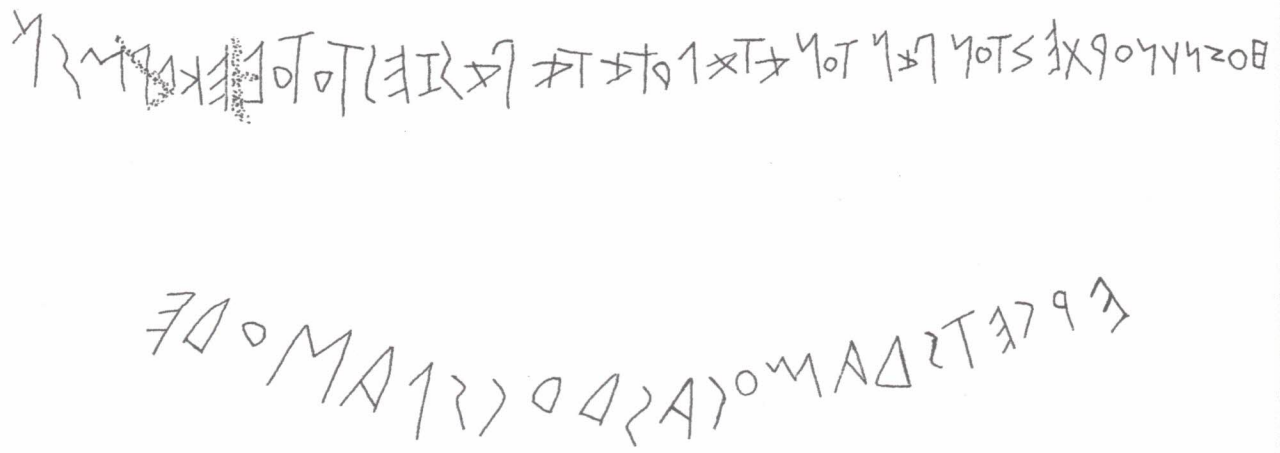

Fig. 7. Above, graffito on oenochoe from 'Dipylon' cemetery, LG Ib (only the principal lacunae are indicated, by hatching). Below, graffito on pithos from Phaistos. Not to scale.

such statistics? Thirty years ago the map would have looked far different (*Fig. 6*), and warns us not to draw conclusions *e silentio* lightly; what price now Page's 'if we state that alphabetic writing was very rare in any Greek land before the birth of Archilochus we are unlikely to be contradicted by future discoveries'?[11] Yet Page also stresses[12] that many sites have yielded quantities of *un*inscribed Geometric pottery. Such pottery has come largely, but by no means entirely from cemeteries, where grave-goods are rarely more loquacious than their owners. There are no early inscriptions from Samos or Kos, Argos or Delos, next to nothing from Corinth and Boeotia, very little from Rhodes and Crete. We may therefore begin to draw conclusions about the extent of literacy in the eighth century, but caution is still necessary; I think in particular of the difficulties surrounding the inscriptions of *c.* 700 from Gordion,[13] dependent on the Greek alphabet but with few contemporary parallels in neighbouring Greek-speaking areas.

A second blank on the map is in the area where many believe that the Greek alphabet originated, the north-east corner of the Mediterranean; nothing in Greek script before *c.* 625, from Salamis.[14] I still hold that the Greek alphabet was inspired from this quarter and that it was probably first set down here. I would gladly develop the theory of Robb and Heubeck that a natural catalyst existed in the eastern Mediterranean in the shape of the Cypriot syllabary.[15] The recent discovery of a Cypriot syllabic inscription of the later eleventh century at Palaipaphos (Kouklia) goes some way to closing the gap that exists between the syllabaries of the Bronze Age and of the developed Iron Age.[16] Greek speakers arriving in the ninth or eighth century at Paphos or Salamis, or even Kition, Amathous or Kourion, would see writing and be told, in Greek, of its uses; such writing would be both syllabic Greek and quasisyllabic Phoenician. The fact that the visiting Greeks then adopted the Phoenician signs may be explained by the fact that they had more dynamic dealings with the easterners than with the indigenous Greek-speaking population, but more on that topic shortly. The evidence from Lefkandi and more significantly Pithekoussai shows that this adoption took place perhaps a generation before the first surviving Greek graffito of *c.* 740.

I have no time to argue the case against a Rhodian or Cretan origin of the alphabet (*Fig. 7*),[17] but mention of those possibilities prompts me to underline the complexity of the spread of variant scripts through-

[11] Page (supra n. 1), p. 120.

[12] Page (supra n. 1), p. 121.

[13] Heubeck (supra n. 1), p. 104; Jeffery, *Lefkandi* I (supra n. 2), p. 92. See now for Samos, *AthMitt* 95, 1980, p. 188 n. 207.

[14] V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis* II, Nicosia 1970, pp. 275—277.

[15] Robb (supra n. 1), p. 27 does not take his argument as far as Heubeck (supra n. 1), pp. 85—87.

[16] V. Karageorghis, *BCH* 104, 1980, pp. 788—789 and *PraktAkAth* 55, 1980, pp. 82—84.

[17] For Crete see my comments in the discussion, infra. I illustrate the Dipylon oenochoe and Phaistos pithos side by side in *Fig. 7*. The inscribed Phoenician bronze bowl from Knossos, *ArchRep* 1976—77, pp. 12—13 and Figs. 27—28, seems chronologically very isolated and I do not understand the conclusion drawn by Drews that the bowl makes it probable that the alphabet was transmitted to Greeks on Crete (*AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 45—6). There is little other than geographical centrality to support the argument for Rhodes: the rather meagre evidence for Rhodian overseas expansion in the earlier eighth century is particularly discouraging (*BSA* 70, 1975, p. 167). The most recent statement of the case for Crete, Guarducci (supra n. 1), pp. 384—7, introduces a new element, the relative harshness of the two Semitic e-sounds, which is certainly of relevance, and if I do not feel competent to express an opinion on it that does not mean that I would wish it ignored.

out Greece; that process seems to have been well under way by the later eighth century. I have the impression that there was rather more fluidity in the use of letter forms in any given area in the eighth century than in the seventh or in particular the sixth, when local boundaries were more strongly drawn in domains other than epigraphy.[18]

I would be remiss in not turning to the question of the needs which inspired Greeks to write once more. Havelock, Robb and Heubeck have strongly contested the 'commercial' aspect, that accounts and bills of lading were uppermost in the thoughts of the transcribers. Rather, the last two have argued, on rather differing grounds, that a mnemonic need to set down oral poetry was the crucial factor. The metrical, Homeric nature of a number of early graffiti was the springboard of their arguments. Yet a good proportion of this early material is of a different nature; the simple statement of an owner's name is now better attested (a use also common in the near east), and the number of single letters (and non-alphabetic marks) on a good proportion of Pithekoussan amphorae also suggests proprietorial concern. Two absences may be noted, of numerals, not found for sure in extant Greek material before 600, and of dedications, though Theban examples do date shortly after 700.[19] In this context I may mention a second inscription from the 'Nestor' tomb at Pithekoussai: ⊗EO painted in white on the stand of a locally made krater; it is our first dipinto inscription, and is clearly of debatable meaning, whether an abbreviated personal name or an indication of divine ownership, very much out of place in a tomb.

In sum, the uses that are evidenced are the personal marking of property, frequent in the Phoenician area but not clearly demonstrated for pre-literate Greece,[20] and perhaps a desire to display alphabetic prowess (I think that this is a valid interpretation, at least on one level) by way of echoes from the epic, probably echoes from more substantial attempts to set down epic for mnemonic reasons. We have no commercial uses in any regular sense of the term. Robb[21] has argued that the vowels were created because of their importance in metre; I wonder whether it is necessary to go so far, if we regard Cyprus as the cradle of the alphabet, since of course Cypriot Greeks did have separate signs for the vowels in their syllabary. The simplicity of the Phoenician system would have been all the more obvious to any visiting Greek who associated in his mind the craft of writing with the possibility of committing substantial amounts of traditional lore to this system. There is evidence that the text of the Homeric epics was largely fossilised by *c.* 700,[22] and I see no overwhelming reason why they should not have been set down in writing by then; we have no real criteria by which to judge whether the task may have been too difficult or not. The internal references to writing have been thoroughly examined; Bellerophon's λυγρὰ σήματα have been taken by Heubeck

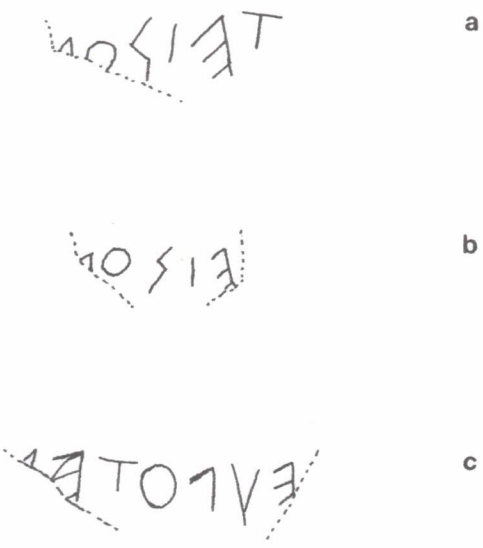

Fig. 8. Pithekoussai. *a*) Fragment of locally made kotyle. *b*) Fragment of Early Protocorinthian kotyle. *c*) Fragment of lower wall of kotyle. 1:1.

and Burkert to refer to contemporary practice,[23] and at Iliad 2.339—341 an oblique reference to the burning of σπονδαί could be a possible hint of written contracts.[24] But if I may end on a more positive note, it has often been said that the long spindly letters of early Greek inscriptions are poor evidence for the existence of a thriving literary tradition. The foundations of that argument may be questioned, since a fair proportion of eighth century graffiti can be said

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[18] Cf. J.N. Coldstream's aporia concerning the rise of local styles in Late Geometric pottery, supra in this volume. We should note that fluctuation in the length of sigma is increasingly rare in the seventh century; I feel that Jeffery may be straining after non-existent distribution patterns in *Lefkandi* I, pp. 91—2. For some earlier early variations see the material from Mt. Hymettos, M.K. Langdon, *Hesperia* Suppl. XVI, pp. 41—49, although I feel that the publication exaggerates possible alphabetic discrepancies.

[19] Some of the Hymettos dedications (supra n. 18) may perhaps be earlier. For early numerals see A.W. Johnston, *Trademarks on Greek Vases*, Warminster 1979, pp. 27—31.

[20] Assured instances of seal impressions or similar owner's marks seem as yet unattested in Greece before *c.* 750, although we should note the pre-LG scratches, *Lefkandi* I, p. 89. Our earliest stamped amphora handle is of mid-eighth century date, from Corinth, *Hesperia* 45, 1976, p. 101, 4.

[21] Robb (supra n. 1), pp. 29—32.

[22] I lean rather on the communis opinio in citing such a date. Recent work on linguistic analysis by Dr. Richard Janko tends to support a date substantially earlier than Hesiod for the establishment of the Homeric texts (personal communication; see his *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, Cambridge 1982, Ch. 10).

[23] Heubeck (supra n. 1), pp. 128—146; Burkert, supra in this volume.

[24] W. Krause, *WS* 55, 1937, pp. 180—1.

to use relatively squat characters; several from Pithekoussai may be noted (*Fig. 8*).[25] The trend to exaggerated tails for letters is rather more marked in the seventh century.

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Discussion

P. Courbin: You mentioned several Euboean sites where inscriptions were found: Eretria, Lefkandi, Pithekoussai. Why are there no inscriptions of this period from Al Mina, where the first known inscription is dated as late as around 600?

A. Johnston: It may be just a coincidence, that is an accident of excavation. We have every reason to assume that at Al Mina people were capable of writing before 600.

J.N. Coldstream: We are told that writing must have been invented in a place where Greeks and Semites lived side by side. The only place mentioned here which on the evidence of graffiti is known to have fulfilled this condition is Pithekoussai.

A. Johnston: Yes, but the letter forms in the earliest inscriptions from Pithekoussai are already well developed. I have no objection to an *earlier* development at Pithekoussai but I do feel that the Cypriot catalyst is a good argument to explain how the transmission was made. It would have been far easier if literate Greeks were involved in the transmission.

W. Burkert: Can you indicate the reasons why the Cretan alphabet, which had no additional letters, is not the earliest?

A. Johnston: The failure of the Cretans to add the additional letters can be explained in various terms. Maybe they had no need for them, or they received the alphabet without them. On the available evidence I cannot accept a Cretan origin of the alphabet.

J.N. Coldstream: Here is one positive reason why the Cretans do not seem to have been the first in the field. A Phoenician bowl of the early ninth century was found in a Knossian tomb, bearing an inscription with forms of Aleph and Kap earlier than those eventually followed by the earliest Greek Alpha and Kappa. That shows that the Cretans did not take the opportunity of copying the Phoenician script at that early date.

A. Johnston: As far as the Cretan alphabet is concerned, the Cretans were simply conservative and retained fossilized forms.

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[25] Examples include the Nestor cup and *Figs. 3* and *4*; the inscribed sherds from Corinth of disputed date now have good early companions (Jeffery, supra n. 1, pp. 120—1). Add from Pithekoussai the three fragments illustrated in *Fig. 8*; *a*) and *b*) are the same owner's mark on vases of both Corinthian and local manufacture, while *c*) has already been noted by Peruzzi (supra n. 9), p. 26 and Heubeck (supra n. 1), p. 123 6*c*. We appear to have here a snatch of an inscription akin to that on the Nestor cup. It is not possible to say whether the penultimate letter was corrected from an alpha to an epsilon or vice versa; neither letter is easy to construe, though the neuter plural would be a little happier than a feminine form in what should be a two-termination adjective. Note the shape of the pi, a parallel for one found in the somewhat later signature of Pyrrhos on an aryballos from Cumae (?), Jeffery (supra n. 1), p. 88 no. 22.

The Legacy of Late Geometric Art

by
Jan Bouzek

Studies on Geometric art during the last thirty years have been more interested in the trees than in the wood, and of the two recent syntheses primarily concerned with general problems of art history, Matz[1] did not yet know the modern more detailed picture of Geometric art, while Schweitzer's *Geometrische Kunst Griechenlands*[2] remained unfinished precisely in its conclusion. Many new works, and especially the latest synthesis by J.N. Coldstream,[3] have contributed much new information to the complex understanding of different branches of Geometric visual arts, so that the time seems to be ripe to sum up the importance of Geometric achievements for the further evolution of Greek art in general, the legacy of Late Geometric art, which brought together the efforts of previous phases and laid the foundations for further advances in Archaic and Classical times.

It is useful to start the Late Geometric with the "Ripe" style, as suggested by Coldstream;[4] doing this, we start in the years of the first Olympiad (776 B.C.), of the first colonisations in the West and of the mythical foundation of Rome, just when the Iron Age was fully born from its "prenatal" earliest stage, with new qualities of human mind unknown to earlier Bronze Age societies.

The Late Geometric period is mainly understood as representing the foundation phase of Greek history and literature, but the visual arts—unlike Homer and Hesiod—are mainly considered an autonomous and remote chapter of Greek art, and the relations of the Geometric style to further artistic development is mainly described in general terms, or only by stressing the transition to the fully figurative Orientalizing style, whose later, Archaic affinities, are more apparent.[5]

Like any late style in art history, Late Geometric meant both the accomplishing of the earlier and tentative preparations for the next artistic cycle. Let us start with anthropomorphisation. This idea can be traced back to the two Protogeometric amphora shapes destined to contain male and female cremations respectively, and to some extent as far back as Submycenaean and LH IIIC,[6] but Late Geometric art first consistently developed the structure taken over from human body into a sophisticated structural system—both, in abstract terms, for non-figurative objects like vases and for human and animal representations. The structure as the backbone of beauty, *symmetria*, was tested out by Geometric art. The most perfect synthesis was achieved at the stage of the Dipylon Master. The large Dipylon amphora, Athens 804, has recently been studied from this point of view by B. Andreae.[7]

The relation of height to width is 2:1, of neck to body height 1:2, the centre of the vessel lies at 3/6 of the total height and 3/4 of the body height. The system of triads (triplicity of units) is used everywhere, and the decoration zones are divided into 36 basic units on the body and into 12 basic units on the neck: the same modulus of 4.66 cm was used for both.

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[1] F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* I, Frankfurt 1950.

[2] B. Schweitzer, *Die geometrische Kunst Griechenlands*, Köln 1969.

[3] J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977; cf. esp. A.M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971; J. Bouzek, *Homerisches Griechenland*, Prague 1969; J.L. Benson, *Horse, Bird and Man, The Origins of Greek Painting*, Amherst 1970.

[4] J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery, A survey of ten local styles and their chronology*, London 1968, pp. 29—51 and 8.

[5] Cf. P. Demargne, *La naissance de l'art grec*, Paris 1964, Ch. xi; M. Robertson, *History of Greek Art*, Cambridge 1975, pp. 18—21. Deeper philosophic insight K. Schefold, *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn*, Berlin 1967, pp. 55—59.

[6] V.R. d'A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, London 1952, pp. 5 f.; J. Bouzek, *Sbornik Nat.Mus.Prague* A XIII 1959 No. 3, 136 f. and idem, *Eirene* 8, 1970, pp. 104—110.

[7] "Zum Dekorationssystem der geometrischen Amphora 804 im Nationalmuseum Athen", in: *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology presented to P.v. Blanckenhagen*, New York 1979, pp. 1—16.

The big LG Ib/IIa pitcher in the Prague University collection (*Fig. 1*)[8] has the same relation of body to neck heights (2:1), but it is broader (height:width = 18:10), which seems to respect the "female" character of the pitcher;[9] like later, in the Doric and Ionic orders, Geometric artists knew two different proportional formulae for expressing both kinds of human beings. The body decoration was divided into 36 (or 12) zones, and the neck into 15 zones of the same dimensions as the 1/36 of the body. The proportion (between 7 : 3 and 2 : 1) is not quite satisfactory, but the high handle and the lid improve the general impression.

A Late Geometric IIb amphora by the Philadelphia Painter (*Fig. 2*) in the same collection[10] has been restored in many places, so that the exact proportions are more difficult to calculate. The proportion of neck to body height is 2:3, that of the body width to the total height *ca.* 1:2 or 10:19. In both cases, the maximum width is at about the middle of the total height of the vessel. The proportional system of the zones on the amphora is either less accurate or more complicated, using fractions of the modulus.

The structure of vessel shape respects its construction, and is therefore related to architectonic structure, even if it does not express directly the relation between supporting and supported elements. Both the ruins of Late Geometric temples and their preserved models show an approach towards architectonic *symmetria* and harmony. Here I would prefer to stress what connects Geometric and Archaic styles rather than the differences pointed out by Schefold,[11] even if the Geometric structures are not completely "tectonic" in the fully materialized sense of an Archaic temple.

The achievements of Late Geometric experiments in this field, also attempted for sculpture and painting, were there in the background throughout the whole development of Greek pottery, sculpture, painting and architecture, though often invisible on the surface. Vitruvius' definitions of *eurythmia, symmetria* and *decor* (I,2,3—5) can be mentioned here for architecture, and a Plutarch's remark on Polyclitus, for other arts: "In a work of art, beauty consists of many numbers, which come happily together by the use of proportion and harmony."[12] The whole of Greek art considered the *correct* proportional system the backbone of beauty, in as far as it was properly deciphered, deriving from nature like a natural law.

The rhythmic alternation of different recurring elements is another structural factor, this time more closely related to time than to space. Even the decoration on a vase was made in time and may be followed by the eye in time, just as a poem is recited or a melody sung.[13] The meander, a basic running ornament of the Geometric style, resembling breathing or the contraction and dilation of the heart,[14] was introduced at the beginning of the Geometric style, but it reached its climax at the initial stage of Late Geometric art. The triglyph-metope scheme was hinted at on Late Mycenaean pottery, and developed during the Protogeometric and especially during the Early and Middle Geometric periods, but its more sophisticated variations were thoroughly worked out in Late Geometric art.[15] The proportional relations of triglyphs and metopes on the Prague pitcher belly (*Fig. 1*) are 3:4. The system of triglyphs and two different kinds of metopes is rather complicated, but rhythmically repeats itself quite symmetrically: abacaba - d - abacaba - d -abacaba - d, while the vertical series (of zones) is asymmetrical, the upper differing from the lower: a - bcbdb - e - bdbcb - fbg. The stressing of differences between the individual parts of the vessel is even more apparent on the Philadelphia Painter amphora (neck: ababa - c - aba; body; abcbdbdb - e - bbfb - gbghbi). The Late Geometric sophisticated stage of the triglyph-metope decoration is best comparable to the structure of the Iliad, as analysed by J.L. Myres and C.J. Whitman, each dealing with different aspects.[16]

The rhythmical structure was important both for the further development of the art of music and for composition in the visual arts, where it functioned not only as a time element, but also to break up space: this became in Greek art more important than ever before.

The space into which sophisticated Geometric *objets d'art* are placed is strictly bound to the three basic planes of three-dimensional space.[17] This space of the ancient Greeks was formed by the natural movements of the human body: forward and backward, left and right, up and down. Not only is the modelling of Geometric figurines consequently restricted to these three main views, the shapes of other objects are situated in the same space, and the drawings combine the most characteristic (profile and front) views of individual parts of the human body into a picture already known to pre-Greek art, but

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[8] Inv. 80.3. *CVA Prague* 1, Pls. 9—10. Workshop of Athens 706, cf. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, pp. 51 f.

[9] Cf. Bouzek, *Eirene* 8, 1970, pp. 105—110.

[10] Inv. 60.16, *CVA Prague* 1, Pls. 11 and 12:1.

[11] Schefold, *Griechen und ihre Nachbarn*, p. 36. Cf. also N. Himmelmann, *MarbWinckProg*, 1962, pp. 29—34.

[12] Cf. B. Andreae (supra n. 7), p. 12.

[13] J. Bouzek—H. Bouzková, "Homer and Geometric art", *Listy filologické* 89, 1966, p. 426.

[14] Schefold, *Griechen und ihre Nachbarn*, pp. 53 and 55; Schweitzer, *Geometrische Kunst Griechenlands*, pp. 27 f.

[15] Bouzek-Bouzková, *Listy fil.* 89, 1966, p. 425; Schweitzer, *Geometrische Kunst Griechenlands*, p. 34.

[16] J.L. Myres, "The last book of the Iliad", *JHS* 52, 1932, pp. 268—294; C.L. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass. 1958, pp. 249—284.

[17] N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Bemerkungen zur geometrischen Plastik*, Berlin 1964, pp. 101 ff.; Bouzek, *Homerisches Griechenland*, p. 187.

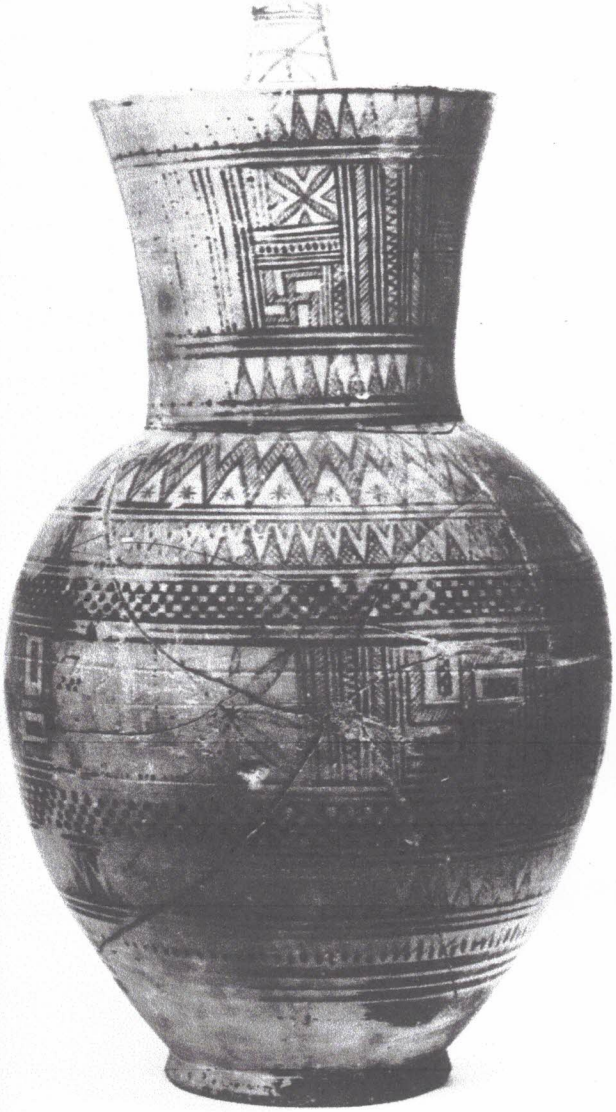

Fig. 1. Pitcher. Prague, University 80.3. Workshop of Athens 706. H. without handle 42 cm.

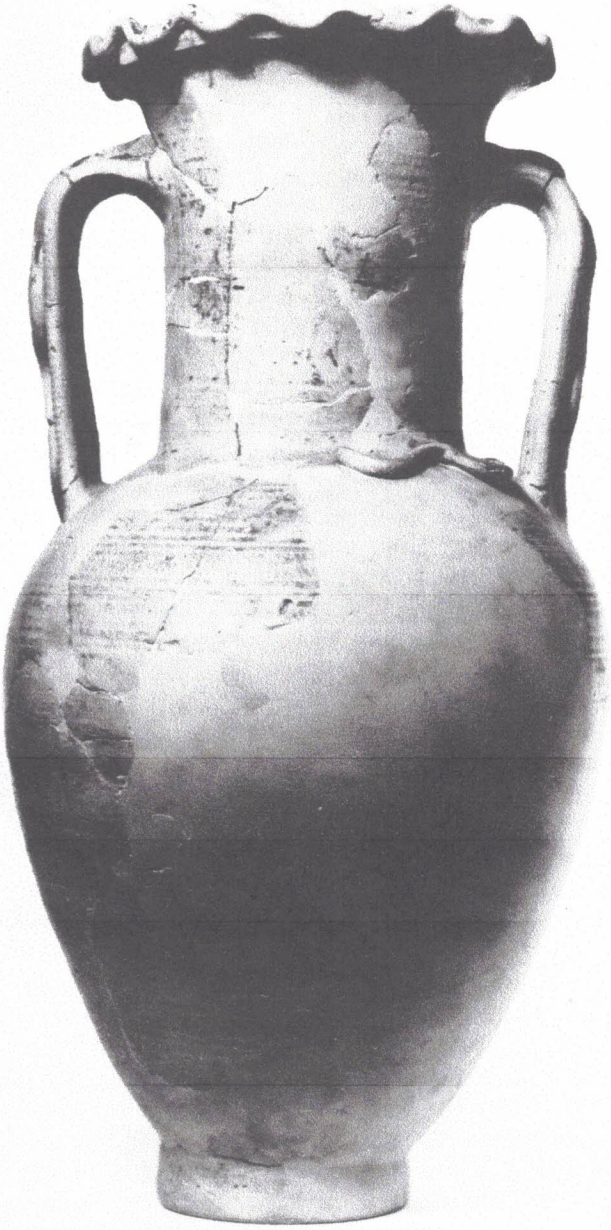

Fig. 2. Amphora by the Philadelphia Painter. Prague, University 60.16.H.50.4. cm.

which remained in use—at least partially—until the end of the Archaic period (cf. esp. the eyes and face). Although the rigidity of the system was sometimes alleviated in Late Geometric figurative groups (where there were two or more individual spaces!),[18] it was strictly preserved in Greek architectonic orders, and in sculpture only Lysippus fully freed his Apoxyomenos from this rigidity by achieving a fully spatial modelling which could be appreciated from every possible position of the viewer.

Late Geometric art brought the efforts of earlier Geometric style to fulfilment. It developed the first sophisticated fully Greek artistic system, which adopted and transformed the old "European" ornamental symbols,[19] the first renaissances of Mycenaean tradi-

[18] Schweitzer, *Geom. Kunst Griechenlands*, pp. 158—161.

[19] Bouzek, *Eirene* 8, 1970, pp. 97—122 and *Gnomon* 1980, p. 394.

tion and some Oriental iconographical models[20] into a fresh and independent artistic synthesis. While taking over and reworking foreign iconographical models, it made 7th century art ready to assimilate other artistic models from the East, able to grecize all that was worth absorbing without losing its own character, its own spirit.

The pictorial representations were simple, but they became part of sophisticated artistic style, and were able to reflect the world of myth and reality, thus initiating the part played by later Greek art for Greek civilization. Like Achilles' shield in the Iliad,[21] it managed to represent the entirety of man and the universe, its order, the *kosmos,* in the structure and in concrete vivid pictures, not in timeless symbols, as had been usual in most of the previous Oriental artistic schools.[22] The essence of the world had to be seen and represented in its visual phenomena, in their changing multiplicity, and this principle facilitated the rapid changes and profound development of Greek art.

Geometric representations have much in common with the Iliad and the Odyssey—in the pictorial representations, time is still more important than contemporaneous space.[23] Other Homeric parallels to Geometric art embrace the analogy between similes and the filling ornament,[24] the representation of the general in concrete pictures, and in the description of the human body:[25] Neither Geometric representations, nor Homeric heroes, e.g., have bellies (the only exception in Homer being beggars suffering from hunger).[26] The Homeric description is restricted to several basic features of the human body comparable to those used in Geometric art, and the importance of a person is shown by the use of a bigger scale (isocephaly was not yet the rule).[27]

The first Greek mythical and heroic representations, scenes depicting myths, appear in the Late Geometric.[28] The heroes stood between men and gods, they represented idealized mortals on a more accomplished level, and the artistic heroization of men and women in Archaic and later Greek art was started by Late Geometric representations of the deceased, their deeds and their funeral festivals. The recollection of a heroic past, expressed in Late Geometric art as well as in Homeric poetry, gave the Greeks their mythical history (instead of the genuine Bronze Age history, which had been lost) and helped to create another dimension for the Greek nation.[29]

The visual arts had no Muses, but they also enjoyed esteem, and although artists and craftsmen were considered less ideal personalities compared with gods and heroes (Hephaestus, Daedalus), their works made them famous and played an important part in hoards, as gifts and prizes in the Homeric world.[30] The prize given to the best dancer might have been the contents of the Attic Late Geometric oenochoe with one of the first Greek inscriptions, and not the vessel itself, but the bronze tripods were typical prizes in contests and gifts to gods.[31] Other metal vessels, dress ornaments and figurines were also popular in this function, and giant Attic vases were erected as highly-esteemed funerary monuments.

The Geometric *xoana,* although crude (they might have been similar to the Dipylon ivory figurines),[32] are the first anthropomorphic representations of gods; they represent the humanizing of deities, and the little bronze figurines followed a similar path. Man became both the centre and the simile of the world, and he kept this place ever afterwards in Greek art, though in the following century he had to struggle for final victory with the world of mythical monsters. The Geometric anthropocentric attitude gave Orientalizing art the vigour necessary to overcome the Eastern "daemonic" influence.

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[20] For the first Oriental iconographic models in Greek art, cf. esp. T.J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and Their Eastern Neighbours,* London 1957; Schweitzer, *Geom. Kunst Griechenlands,* pp. 53—57; Benson, *Horse, Bird and Man,* p. 16 f.; G. Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art,* Stockholm 1971, pp. 71—107; H.-V. Herrmann, in: *Reallexikon der Assyrologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie* IV (1975), pp. 303—311; Bouzek, in: *Actes du IVe colloque sur les bronzes antiques,* Lyon 1976, pp. 35—41 and *Gnomon* 1980, p. 393.

[21] Last survey K. Fittschen, *Archaeologia Homerica* Chapter N, Göttingen 1973. Cf. Schefold, *Griechen und ihre Nachbarn,* p. 55.

[22] Cf. E. Auerbach, *Mimesis,* Bern 1946, Ch. 1 (Odysseus' scarf) for the literary descriptions; for the visual arts Schefold, *Griechen und ihre Nachbarn,* p. 36. For the significance of the ornaments, cf. N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Über einige gegenständliche Bedeutungsmöglichkeiten des frühgriechischen Ornaments,* Mainz 1968.

[23] For the basic iconographic types of a standing, running, fighting man, mourning woman, etc., resembling pictographic signs, cf. Bouzek-Bouzková, *Listy fil.* 89, 1966, p. 426; Schweitzer, *Geom. Kunst Griechenlands,* pp. 35—37; Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer,* London 1956, pp. 638—43.

[24] R. Hampe, *Gleichnisse Homers und Bildkunst seiner Zeit,* Tübingen 1952.

[25] B. Snell, *Entdeckung des Geistes,* Hamburg 1955, pp. 22 f.

[26] Cf. *Od.* VII, 216, 219, XV, 344, XVII, 228, 286, 288, XVIII, 2, 364, 480.

[27] Bouzek-Bouzková, *Listy fil.* 89, 1966, pp. 426 f.

[28] K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen,* Berlin 1969.

[29] Coldstream, *Geometric Greece,* pp. 352—356, cf. also pp. 341—351; G. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art,* Göteborg 1971.

[30] N. Himmelmann, *Über bildende Kunst in der homerischen Gesellschaft,* Wiesbaden 1969; M.I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus,* 2nd ed. New York 1967.

[31] For the oenochoe inscription, cf. e.g. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece,* p. 298 Fig. 95*a*. Besides Homer, Hesiod (*Works and Days* 654—9) tells us that he won a tripod at the funeral games of Amphidamos of Chalcis and dedicated it to the Muses on Helikon.

[32] For the *xoana,* cf. H.-V. Herrmann, "Zum Problem der Entstehung der griechischen Großplastik", in: *Wandlungen, Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst,* Waldsassen 1975, pp. 35—48.

The close connection between practical function and beauty in objects surrounding the ancient Greeks, formulated both in Homeric taxonomy and in Geometric art, established in *techne* a unity of truth (true function) and beauty, rational and nice, while envisaging these spiritual qualities in all the artificial products of man's environment. Never before and after did artificially produced beauty form such an integral part of the whole of human life as in ancient Greece. Both this phenomenon and the unity of function and beauty in all objects of man's environment are among the greatest legacies of ancient Greece, and the foundations for these aspects of Greek art were laid in the Geometric period.

The date of the first Olympiad marks the traditional beginning of the pan-Greek function of the agonistic principle. The intentional diversity of local and individual schools (and even of individual artists) in Late Geometric art[33] marked the beginnings of the artistic particularism and the artistic agons characteristic of the whole later evolution of Greek art.

All these features stamp Geometric art as an integral part of Greek artistic development. It formed the structure, the construction of the building, which could not have been realized without its formative, preparatory stage, even if this stage was not yet fully conscious of the later formulated theories, and retained in many ways a dreamlike character.

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Note. Since the author was unable to attend and his manuscript did not arrive in time to be read at the Symposium, there was no discussion of this paper.

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[33] Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, pp. 109—294.—Prof. J.N. Coldstream kindly read the first version of this contribution and made valuable comments.

Steps Toward Representational Art in 8th-Century Vase Painting

by
Jörg Schäfer

In this paper I shall try to give a sketch of the formal development of scenic painting in 8th-century Attic art. By the term *scenic painting* I understand pictures representing an action. I hope thereby to stimulate discussion about pictorial space (*Bildraum*) in Geometric art, a topic that has been undeservedly neglected, although Sture Brunnsåker in particular has arrived at valuable results and suggestions in this field.[1] I intend to limit my discussion here to a select number of Attic monuments which I consider to be representative of the individual phases of this development. I shall not refer to developments outside Attic workshops, because I am convinced that the main impulses in 8th-century figured composition came from Athens. At the end of my paper I shall put forward some general ideas about 8th and 7th century aesthetics, especially about principles underlying both painting and poetry.

This paper is about innovation. I think the Athenians of the 8th century developed independently and without recourse to Mycenaean art a sense for a new artistic attitude towards the visual world. This attitude was only symptomatic of a more universal process, however, as we shall see.

The discussion will be limited mainly to the panelled pictures, since the development proposed is only weakly reflected in the friezes. The aesthetic terminology I have chosen here to describe the different kinds of 'space' encountered in these representations is, to a large extent, taken from S.K. Langer and in some cases from S. Brunnsåker.[2]

Phase 1, end of Middle Geometric II

Skyphos Eleusis, inv. 741: the panel between the handles shows fighting on land or at the seashore (*Fig. 1*).[3] This picture is coherent because of a number of components: (*a*) the contrast of the smooth, even surface with the figures, (*b*) the roughly rectangular delimitations of the field and (*c*) the loose symmetrical arrangement of the combatants within the field. We have only a very vague impression of the spatial relationship between the fighting men; however, space is suggested by the action, which has been termed 'tensional' or 'dramatic' space. The figures are not connected with a bottom line, but this does not mean that we are expected to visualize them on a battle ground in a kind of bird's eye perspective, nor that the artist has attempted to suggest spatial depth by freeing the figures from a ground line (as has been suggested). The lack of contact with a bottom line is a feature common to Attic Middle Geometric figure representations and is found even later in non-Attic art. The picture plane does not suggest a real world with specific directions, such as 'up' and 'down', bottom and top. Here the picture plane represents only the neutral surface of the vessel accentuated by some filling ornaments.

It is important to note that the figures are not stereotyped, but each depicted somewhat differently in posture, movement or equipment. This individual rendering conveys a strong narrative appearance to the group, although there is no convincing suggestion of continuous space.

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[1] S. Brunnsåker, *OpRom* 4, 1962, pp. 201 ff. and p. 201 n.4.; cf. G. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art,* Göteborg 1971, pp. 268 ff.; J. Benson, *Horse, Bird and Man,* Amherst 1970, pp. 94 f.

I. Scheibler, *Die symmetrische Bildform in der frühgriechischen Flächenkunst,* Kallmünz 1960, contains an extremely valuable contribution to the problems of pictorial composition in Late Geometric art. The views expressed there have a bearing on the problem of pictorial space.

[2] S. Brunnsåker (supra n. 1), pp. 204 f.; S.K. Langer, *Feeling and Form, A theory of Art,* New York 1976, esp. pp. 46 ff. and 69 ff. (chapter on Virtual Space); see further H.A. Groenewegen—Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement,* New York 1972, esp. pp. 5 ff. and p. 38.

[3] *Arch Eph* 1898, Pl. 5, 1a; G. Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art,* Stockholm 1971, pp. 34 ff. Fig. 43.

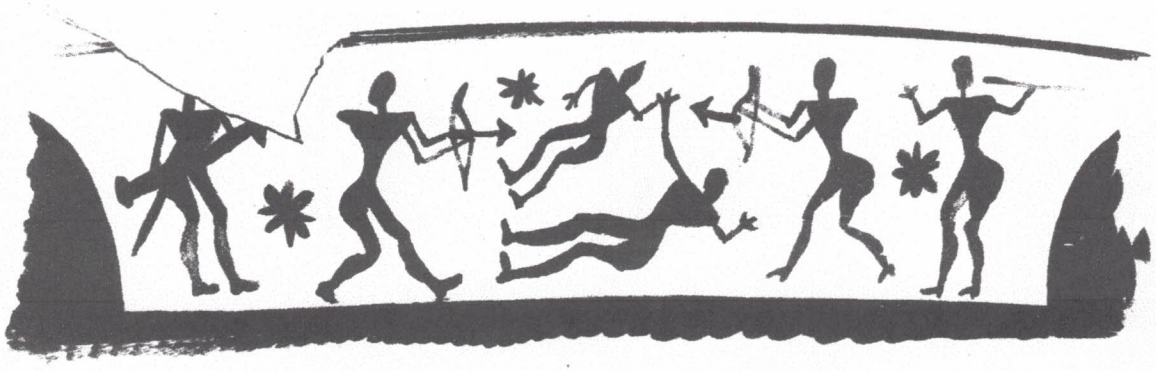

Fig. 1.Skyphos, Eleusis, inv. 741. Detail after *ArchEph* 1898, Pl. 5, 1*a*.

Phase 2, Late Geometric I

'Prothesis Amphora', Athens, Nat. Mus., inv. 804 (*Fig. 2*).[4] The Dipylon Master's style sets the tone for Attic mid-century painting. Figures and objects are now firmly connected to the bottom line of the closed panel. Arguing from this feature alone, one would be tempted to admit that the space embracing the figures is unified. But examination of the panel in relation to the vase as a whole suggests that this is not the case. There is no vivid or dramatic movement, as on the Eleusis Skyphos, and the representation is highly stylized, the figures are densely grouped and there is a strong tendency toward symmetrical composition. In short, the semblance of physical space has been almost dissolved and the scene adapted to the geometric syntax on the greater part of the amphora's surface.

As has been pointed out by G. Ahlberg there are some representations toward the end of LG I and in LG II which attempt to show spatial relationships by placing figures in front or behind the funeral bier.[5] These are exceptional, however, and do not arrive at a more comprehensive illusion of space beyond this very restricted area in the picture.

Krater New York, Metropolitan Museum, inv. 34.11.2.[6] I follow Marwitz, Kübler and others in putting this krater in the LG period slightly later than the vases by the Dipylon Master.[7] The frieze, which shows combat around two warships, seems at first to give a realistic succession of actions (*Fig. 3*). Space, however, is restricted to the area of the ships as 'dramatic space' (or 'group space'). Any sense of continuous space has been checked by the stereotyped position of the warriors.

Phase 3, Late Geometric II

Kantharos Copenhagen, Nat. Mus., inv. 727.[8] The figures are arranged into three groups within a large panel according to a loose symmetrical principle (*Fig. 4*). All the figures—the leaping dancer as well as the two armoured men, who are probably leaping *Waffentänzer*—are clearly related to the same ground line. But each group operates within its own 'dramatic space' or 'group space'. There is no suggestion of spatial relationships *between* the groups, nor continuous space filling the pictorial plane; the coherence of the picture is mainly achieved by thematic and compositional unity.

Spouted Krater, from Thebes, *London,* British Museum, inv. 1899.2—19.1.[9] 'Sub-Dipylon Group'. A new principle of composition appears at about the same time. Now the visual accent is shifted toward one side of the picture to introduce a dynamic quality into the composition (*Fig. 5*). This allows the artist to suggest movement free from formalism, certainly a step toward a greater liveliness, which comes closer to our visual experience; you can call it 'realism'. This new concept of dynamism separates the picture from the symmetrical structure of the krater and results in the autonomy of the picture. It is probably not coincidence that this occurs at about the same time when

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[4] J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery,* London 1968, pp. 29 ff. Pl. 6.

[5] Ahlberg (supra n. 3), p. 270.

[6] H. Marwitz, *AntK* 4, 1961, Pls. 17—18.

[7] Marwitz (supra n. 6), p. 47; K. Kübler, *Kerameikos* V, 1, Berlin 1954, p. 173.- Coldstream (supra n. 4), p. 23: predecessor of the Dipylon Master and still Middle Geometric II.

[8] *CVA Copenhague* 2, Pl. 73 (Danemark Pl. 74). Cf. Coldstream (supra n. 4), p. 72 n. 2; W. Hahland in: *Corolla L. Curtius,* Stuttgart 1937, Pl. 43.

[9] R. Hampe, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien,* Athens 1936, Pl. 22; Coldstream (supra n. 4), p. 55 n. 4. For the relative chronology cf. Kübler (supra n. 7), p. 151.

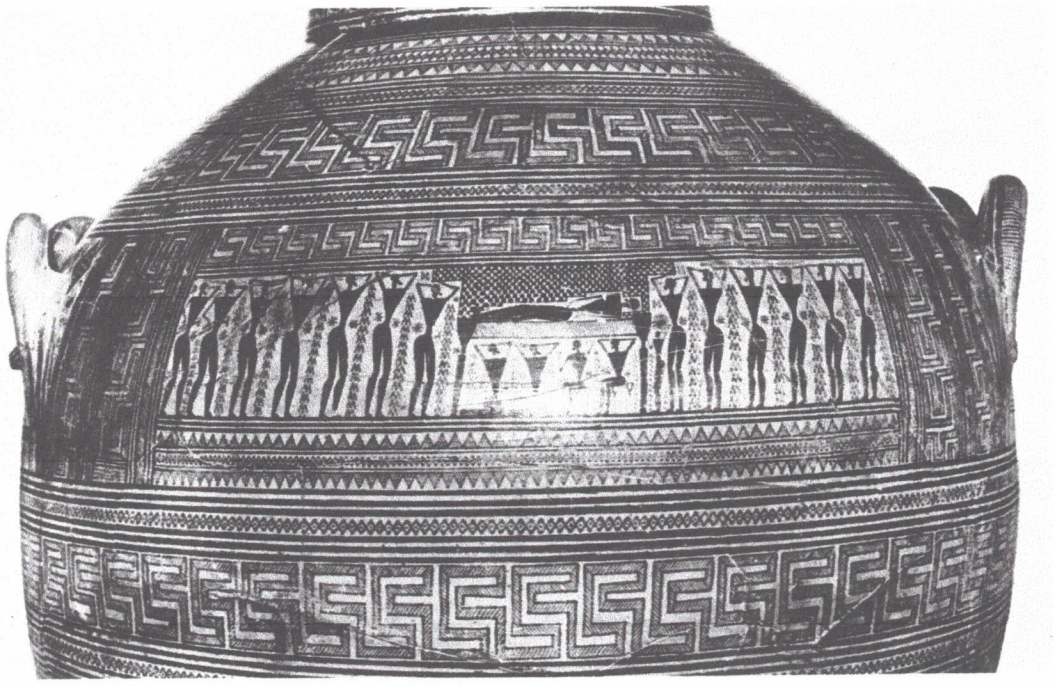

Fig. 2. Amphora, Athens, Nat. Mus. inv. 804. Detail. Neg. German Archaeological Institute at Athens.

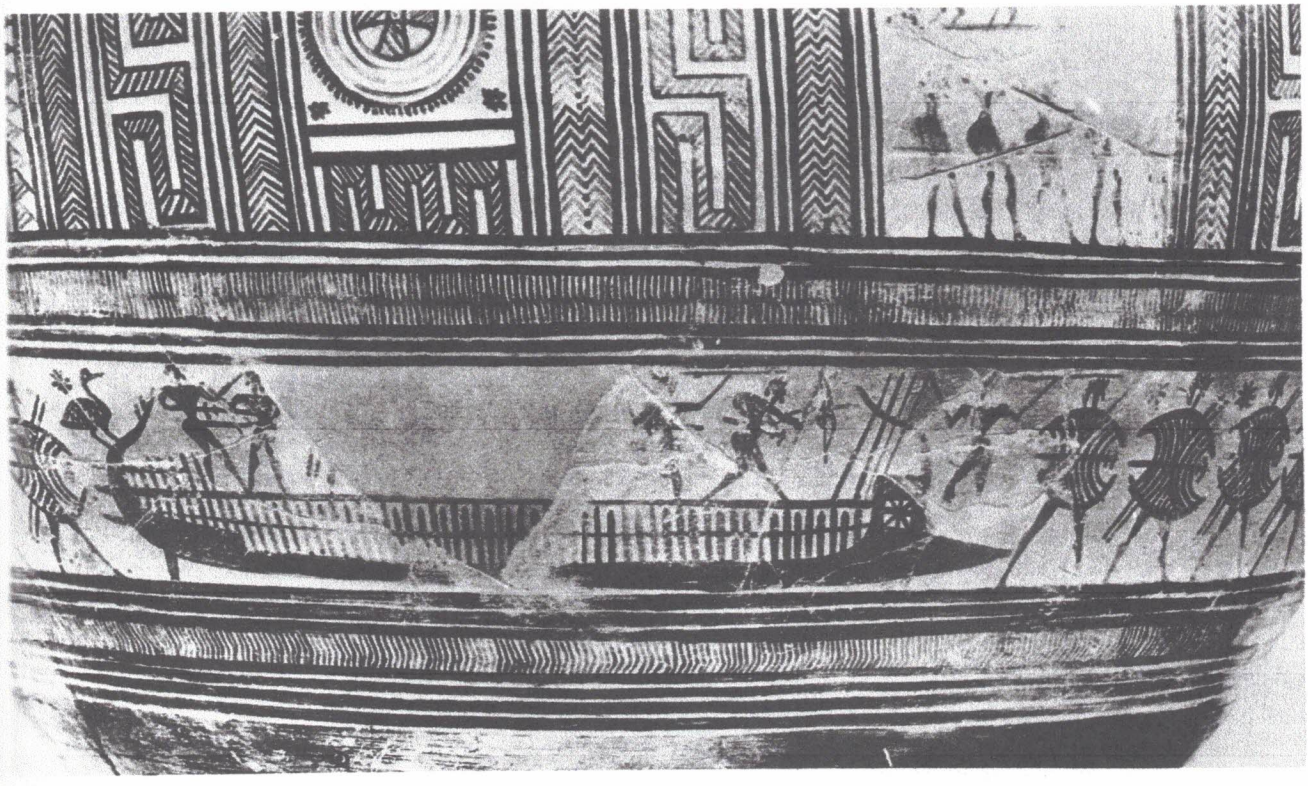

Fig. 3. Krater, New York, Metropolitan Mus. inv. 34.11.2. Detail after *AntK* 4, 1961, Pl. 17,4.

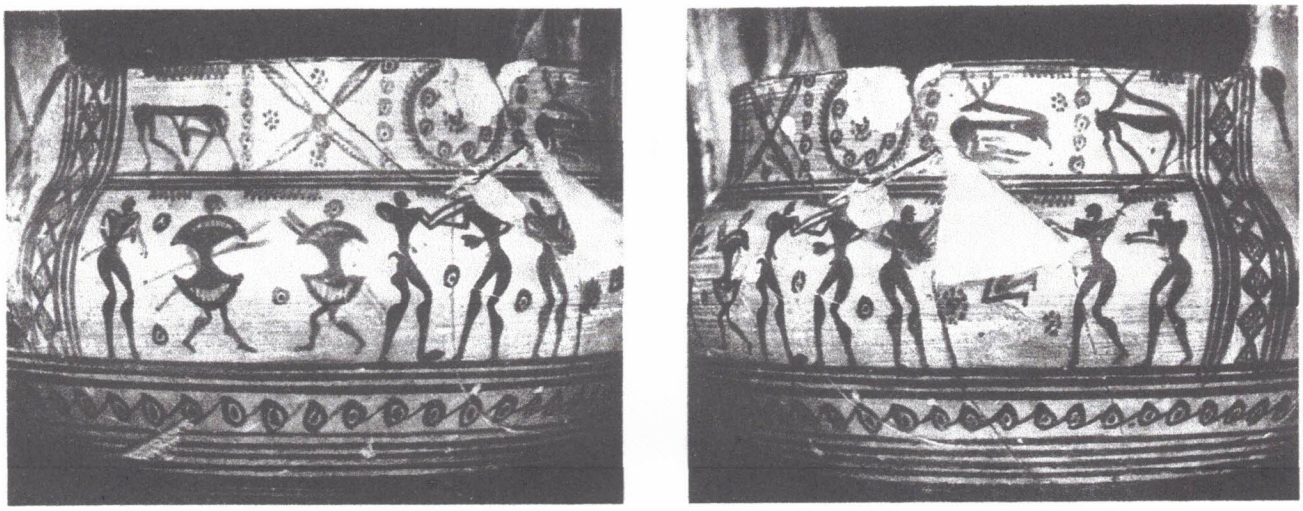

Fig. 4*a*—*b*. Kantharos, Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. inv. 727. Detail after *Corolla Curtius*, Pl. 43.

Fig. 5. Spouted Krater, London, Brit. Mus. inv. 1899.2—19.1. Phot. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

the first separate pictures, *pinakes* with figured representations, again appear, e.g. the well known pinax from Sunium.[10]

Oenochoe, Munich, Antikensammlung, inv. 8696.[11] The composition has been crammed into the well defined limits of the field and is centralized around the keel, so that the interplay between the frame and the composition is very distinct (*Fig. 6*). In contrast with the scene on the Eleusis Skyphos, the position of the various pictorial elements within the field has a strong symbolic connotation: The ship in the centre is 'amidst the sea'; the heads of the swimming men are directed toward the ship, whereas the fish move in various directions, 'the ship as the only hope for sur-

[10] *BSA* 35, 1934/35, Pl. 40*b*; see Kraiker, *BonnJbb* 161, 1961, p. 119.

[11] R. Hampe, *Die Gleichnisse Homers und die Bildkunst seiner Zeit*, Tübingen 1952, Figs. 7—11; Coldstream (supra n. 4), p. 76 n. 3.

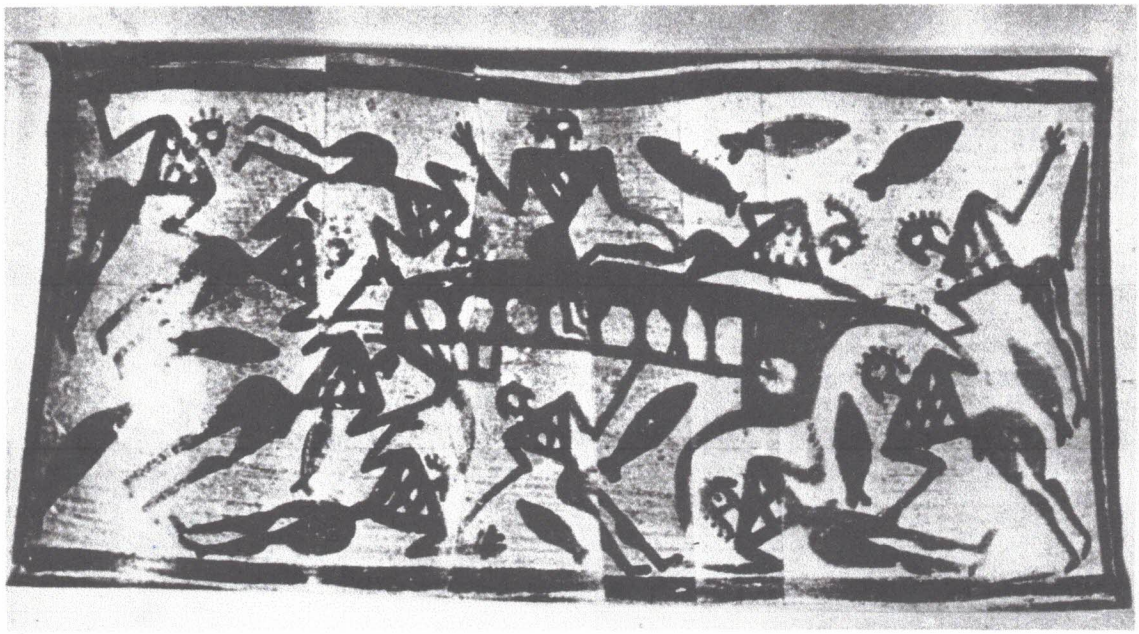

Fig. 6. Oenochoe, Munich, Antikensammlung inv. 8696. Detail after Hampe, *Gleichnisse*, Fig. 11.

vival'. There is a clear tendency towards symmetrical arrangement, not strong enough, however, to create a formalized pattern. Narration is achieved partly by symbolic, partly by realistic devices. Consequently, the quality of the pictorial ground is twofold: it symbolizes the sea or it conveys a vague illusion of the sea to the beholder. It is left to him to decide which. The interrelated characteristics of this representation indicate clearly enough that this picture belongs to the autonomous class.

How could we summarize the rise of representational painting in 8th-century Attica? As the process by which the picture detaches itself aesthetically from the decoration of the vessel and becomes autonomous, and as a very subtle tackling of spatial problems. From (1) the vague attempts on the Eleusis Skyphos to suggest space and narration to (2) the formalized scenes on the mid-century vases by the Dipylon Master, which are integrated into the decorative system of the ornamental zones, and finally to (3) the LG II solutions. These solutions are in no way uniform; one finds alternatively (*a*) the agglomeration of 'group space' on the Copenhagen Kantharos, (*b*) the semblance of continuous space created by the dynamic decentralized composition on the krater from Thebes, and (*c*) the tension between frame and composition and the vague symbolic significance of the pictorial ground on the Munich oenochoe. (*b*) and (*c*) represent the most advanced steps toward the autonomy of the picture during the Geometric period.

Early Protoattic painters were mainly interested in the rendering of vivid, so called organic figures, as has been pointed out, amongst others, by C. Brockaw.[12] But the road toward the exploitation of spatial relationships had already been opened up by their predecessors. Both trends, the search for vivid form and for continuous space, have contributed essentially to the creation of pictorial narration, that is the individual rendering of an unmistakable event in space and time.[13] One of the early instances of genuine pictorial narration is the neck panel of the tall *Amphora from Eleusis* in the Eleusis Museum,[14] which dates from the second quarter of the 7th century (*Fig. 7*). Very much as on the krater from Thebes the visual accent lies near the border of the field.[15] While in LG II the interplay between frame and composition could be sensed as a tensional relationship, now the frame is violated by the figures or serves as a kind of support for the Cyclop's back; it has become part of a simulated space behind the figures and frees them from the vessel.[16]

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[12] Brockaw, *AthMitt* 78, 1963, pp. 63 ff. mentions especially the part played by the Oxford Master's figures and related works. Cf. e.g. the analysis of the figures on the Amphora Metropolitan Museum, inv. 21.88. 18, *ibid.* p. 69 f. (Hahland, supra n. 8, Pl. 41).

[13] Identifying marks as labelling by inscriptions are a narrative device, but in most cases not a pictorial element; for a definition of narration in early Greek art, cf. G.M.A. Hanfmann, *AJA* 61, 1957, pp. 71 ff.

[14] G. Mylonas, *Protoattikos Amphoreus tes Eleusinos*, Athens 1957, Pl. 5.

[15] Scheibler (supra n. 1), pp. 48 ff., points out that the Late Geometric "mit Hilfe der gebundenen Symmetrie geschaffenen Bildschemata" do not contribute to the Orientalizing pictorial style.

[16] For an early instance of dramatic interplay between figure and conventional decoration, cf. the kotyle in Tübingen, Archäologi-

Fig. 7. Amphora, Eleusis, Museum. Detail after Mylonas, Pl. 5.

The panel on the Eleusis Amphora marks a distinct level in art history. It is a picture in its own right. To explain what I mean by a picture in its own right I shall quote a short passage from E.H. Gombrich's *Art and Illusion*:[17]

"I know of a small girl who became worried and pensive when many Christmas cards began to arrive in her home. How could one tell which was the 'correct' rendering of Holy Night? It is a natural question and one which even engaged the mind of Christian theologians in the East and West. But where it is asked in all seriousness, illustration in our sense of the term cannot exist. It demands the freedom of the artist to picture to himself what it may have been like when the heavenly child lay in the manger and the shepherds came to adore it."

Narrative art consequently cannot dispense with the artist's creative fantasy in matters of motif and form. The interest of the painter and of the beholder shifts on this level toward the 'How' and away from the 'What'. This is true not only in the case of narrative paintings. In the case of isolated figures the share of the painter's inventiveness is now much more distinctly manifest than in Geometric art. It hardly needs to be stressed that a convincing semblance of continuous space has never been achieved completely by Geometric painters. We could observe, however, the Geometric painter's struggle for a more illusionistic style, a struggle which eventually transformed the Geometric concept.

There is around the same time and probably still in the 8th century a complementary tendency in poetry. A specific difference between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* points to it. While events in the *Iliad* are described objectively in the third person and demand to be understood as factual truth, in the *Odyssey* quite a few of the tales are put into the mouth of Odysseus himself, and especially the most fantastic ones. There is in *Odyssey* 8, 490 ff., moreover, perhaps even a hint of emphasis on truth as opposed to fantastic tale, when Odysseus demands that Demodocus sings of the deeds of the Greeks at Troy; he wants to hear what happened κατὰ μοῖραν καταλέξῃς and not according to the inventiveness of the rhapsode.

Appreciation of the poetical truth appears on a quasi-theoretical level in the proem of Hesiod's *Theogony*, as was shown lately by the philologist Winfrid Stroh:[18] ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα, / ἴδμεν δ', εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν ἀλήθεα γη-

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sches Institut, inv. 5480, from Phaleron, *CVA Tübingen* 2, Pl. 24, 3, 4 (Deutschland Pl. 2125). Although not a panelled picture, the representation points to the same kind of independence from the abstract limitations of the ground. The tension between figure and frame is already remarkable on the neck of the Amphora in the Metropolitan Museum, supra n. 6.

[17] E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion. A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, New York 1977, p. 109. On p. 110 (about narration), the quotation and interpretation of Hanfmann (supra n. 13) is not sufficiently accurate.

[18] W. Stroh, "Hesiods lügende Musen", in: *Studien zum antiken Epos, Festschrift F. Dirlmeier—V. Pöschl*, Meisenheim 1976, pp. 85 ff.

ρύσασθαι (*Theogony* 27 f.), '. . . lies similar to truth . . .' This is the poetical fiction, the Muses' Lies. The line refers not to the 'What' but to the 'How'; that is, to the aesthetic creation in its own right.[19]

I suppose that in Hesiod's and Homer's time nobody cared much about these lies. Intellectuals in the centuries to follow sometimes evaluated Homer differently, and Plato seems to have felt the ambiguities of mimetic art very strongly (*Politeia* X 598 ff.). However, the beautiful lies of the Muses have dominated Western art for more than two and a half thousand years.

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Discussion

S. Hiller: I would like to bring up the matter of inventiveness. When Hesiod says he will be able to tell the truth, we should regard this as a matter of invention of the artist, not of style.

J. Schäfer: Style and invention come to the same thing. As soon as the artist moves away from the abstract to the realistic, he is inventing and changing style at the same time.

W. Burkert: The poet of the *Odyssey* is admitting his own invention when he says *autodidaktos eimi.*

H. Tzavella-Evjen: Your approach was independent of subject matter, yet subject matter dictates space. For example in the mourning scenes space is mute, whereas in abduction or war scenes space is dramatic.

J. Schäfer: Let us take the Metropolitan krater as an example where you have two boats involved in a battle, warriors on the boats and two seated persons. Then you also have warriors between the boats all looking alike. The space impression is restricted to dramatic space or group space on the boats, while the marching people between the boats are stereotyped and there is no space continuum.

W. Burkert: Is the subject of the scene on the other side of the krater the abduction of Helen?

J. Schäfer: It is an abduction of some sort, Helen and Paris is the usual interpretation; it could also be Theseus and Ariadne.

C. Rolley: Your subject was problems of space in Attic painting, but there is another category, where the same problem applies, and that is small-scale group sculpture, which is Peloponnesian and definitely not Attic. Thus, maybe the development is not as linear as you described it.

J. Schäfer: I agree that the same analysis could apply in group sculpture and to other provinces in Greece. In vase painting there is, however, the problem that figured scenes are very rare outside Attica.

B. Bergquist: You talked about steps in the representational art of the 8th cent., i.e. the conquering of space in two-dimensional art for the narration of stories. You limited your paper to vase paintings, but how do you feel about two-dimensional representations in bronze, i.e. fibulae, shields etc.?

J. Schäfer: The approach should be applied to other forms of art, but time did not permit me to do so. But on Cretan shields of the 8th century, for example, we have the meeting of Oriental and Greek ideas about space and such a study would be very rewarding. We can talk about tendencies which are observable also in literature (contrast the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* for example).

B. Bergquist: Was the leading artist in two-dimensional representations, the bronze worker or the vase painter?

J. Schäfer: The vase painter and especially the Attic vase painter. Vase painters took a much wider view of the world. In Attic vase painting you observe the process step by step, and the same problem is given different solutions. It is also much easier for a painter to create and play with his imagination than for a bronze-artist, who might be much more limited by tradition.

J.N. Coldstream: Some thoughts cohere in my mind about symmetry and narrative in Cretan art. The Fortetsa bronzes—the quiver and the belt—portray symmetrical scenes, even when the themes are violent, e.g. the man in combat with lions, on the quiver. There are also 9th-century figured scenes on pottery. On the front side of the bell-krater from Teke tomb E, a man is being consumed not just by lions, but by symmetrical lions. The theme may be derived from Oriental sources, perhaps through a misunderstanding of the Master of Animals. Again, a Boeotian fibula shows an unfortunate man of whom only the upper half is left, the rest having been eaten by two

[19] The aim of these comparisons is not to demonstrate that Geometric vase painting and Homer are the "joint bearers of a central pattern of sensibility from which their various efforts all flow like radial expressions" (after G. Kubler, *The Shape of Time*, New Haven/London 1979, p. 27). Both have a different artistic tradition and 'typology' (cf. Kubler pp. 27 ff., pp. 121 ff.; J. Schäfer, "Bemerkungen zum Verhältnis von Malerei und Dichtung", in: *Forschungen und Funde, Festschrift B. Neutsch*, Innsbruck 1980, p. 417). *Quite obviously, without an appreciation of fictional truth* there would be no *Iliad*; what in Geometric pictorial painting caused a transformation was felt in epic poetry only as an additional force and introduced a new consciousness of 'truth'.

lions—and still he is the centre of a heraldic composition. Is there a contradiction between narrative and symmetry?

J. Schäfer: Your question, if I understand it correctly, is whether it is possible to combine narrative and symmetry, and whether there has to be a shift of visual accent to establish narration. I think that symmetry is not an impediment to narration; look for example at Exekias' compositions in the 6th century. There are in fact two possibilities to express narrative: (1) the asymmetrical composition on the Sub-Dipylon crater from Thebes and on the Eleusis amphora (with the blinding of the Cyclops), and (2) symmetrical compositions which have to have very vivid figures in order to create something like space.

S. Hiller: Do you think that there was a consequent development of space in Greek art after the period you have shown to us? I ask this because I wonder why scenes such as the shipwreck, fighting on ships etc. die out after the Geometric period. It is strange that artists developed space during the 8th century and then stopped.

J. Schäfer: We have change of subject, but continuity of form or style. I don't think that conception of space is really closely connected with the subject matter. The inventiveness of the early Proto-Attic painters was tremendous and shows that they could change subject without changing form. But as to why the themes change, that I cannot explain.

S. Hiller: There is not space in black-figured Attic painting until the end of the 6th century, when we have indications of perspective. For that reason I wonder if the phenomenon which we call space in Geometric scenes is space at all. Do we have 'space' in Homer?

J. Schäfer: Philologists are better equipped to answer if space exists in Homer. But it is possible to suggest that space exists without referring to foreshortening.

E.B. Harrison: There is a group of a man with a centaur in New York to which a narrative interpretation has been given. Where would it fit in your regularized, symmetrical treatment of space?

J. Schäfer: This group is not unique. There is also the group of a man with lance (Samian) which is not symmetrical. In plastic art you stress narrative by a shift of the mass rather than the visual accent.

General Discussion on Art and Literature

S. Hiller to W. Burkert: What is the chronological relation of the final Homeric recension and the translation of Oriental literature. When did the translations take place, and when was the literature incorporated into the Homeric poems?

W. Burkert: When I speak of the final Homeric redaction, I speak of the written version; that is I do not believe that there was a monumental poet who forced people to learn his compositions by heart. As to the date when the written text appeared, I think between the introduction of the alphabet and Stesichorus (first half of 6th cent.), somewhere around 670. This opinion is disputable, but if we accept it, then Eastern influences had enough time from about 750, or earlier, to 670 to be incorporated in 'Homer'. One more indication for dating the Homeric redaction of the *Iliad* in the 7th century is the Gorgon shield of Agamemnon in the eleventh book. No archaeologist would put this in the 8th century (there are of course those who argue that it is a later interpolation, but you can do this with almost any passage).

S. Hiller: My problem is that I find the time period too short for the Oriental elements to be incorporated. In Greek art we see Homeric influences from about 750. It is difficult to see how, in a relatively short period, the Greeks learned Oriental literature, it became popular and made its way into the *Iliad*. I prefer to trace the Oriental influences back to the Bronze Age.

W. Burkert: The Oriental influences are not essential to the main plot of the *Iliad*, not essential to the *menis* and not traditional in spirit. If they had existed since the Bronze Age, 500 years of oral tradition would have amalgamated them so much, than one would hardly recognize them as foreign. The Orientalizing period is therefore more likely.

S. Hiller: I may agree with that, but perhaps I may cite another example. Young Nestor and his parallel David-Goliath have parallels in Egyptian literature in the 2nd millennium B.C. as far as I can remember. Of course I cannot exclude the possibility that later versions also existed.

W. Burkert: The Biblical version is of the Dark Age period.

S. Hiller: There is also the question of the *semata lygra*. Is it likely that the Greeks would use *semata lygra* after they became literate? In the Late Bronze Age there existed a correspondence between kings with letters of recommendation, sometimes in foreign languages. I do not know of any instance of correspondence in the 7th century, so I would prefer a Bronze Age date for this case also.

W. Burkert: My argument is based on *deltos*. There exists no two-folded *deltos* in the region outside Phoenicia-Aramaea. As for recommendation letters, I quoted the one from Tell Halaf (see my note 18) which is, I think, 8th century.

H. Furuhagen: Plato said that Homer was the inventor of tragedy. Homeric songs are both epos and drama, but Homer the dramatist has not been duely discussed. If Homer is also a dramatist, where and how did he learn the art, inside or outside Greece?

W. Burkert: We must take into account the epic tradition before Homer. Parry has proven the existence of oral tradition in Greek literature in which the poet had to give his audience *interesting* material. Sometimes there were stories about fighting or about death. It is thus understandable how, in the oral technique, the dramatic aspect developed, and we can say that in the 8th century the basis for the technique is there. There is also the special inventiveness of gifted poets. The *menis* of Achilles is such an invention of a gifted poet, because it is psychological drama. It is an invention of a 'dramatic' poet although an earlier one than Homer.

E.C. Kopff: Some words about originality: It is a modern invention which had no place in the ancient world. The power of genius lay in humane assimilation of the past, reinterpretation of the past to make it meaningful to the present. To that extent Homer is more important as a father of History rather than tragedy.

A. Johnston: I am worried by the lack of Homeric art in Smyrna or Chios. I also want to add something else. A Cambridge thesis has just been completed, where word patterns in Homer have been computerized and the date suggested is about 700 for the fossilization of the text in comparison with Archilochus. (See my note 17.)

S. Hiller to A. Johnston: We have spoken of inscribed obeloi from Cyprus dated to the 11th or 10th century. As far as I know, the date is not totally undisputed, since later objects were found in the context.

A. Johnston: All I know myself is that the inscribed spits are all of the same type, whatever the script. Thus one would assume that they are all of the same date.

S. Hiller: One of your arguments is that Greeks learned the Semitic alphabet in Cyprus, because there Greeks already knew the syllabic script. Now, a situation emerges that they had to learn to write twice. Bronze Age inscriptions from Cyprus are not Greek, since we cannot read them. Thus when the Greeks came they would have to learn first Bronze Age syllabic script and then the Semitic alphabet, which may be more practical. But then why not give up the syllabic system?

A. Johnston: What I suggested is that other Greeks came to Cyprus and found literate Greeks who showed them how to write. They acted as catalysts between the Phoenicians and the mainland Greeks. I never suggested that the same Greeks learned their letters twice.

W. Burkert: The name of the script, Phoinikëïa, seems to presuppose that there existed another script which was to be distinguished from the Phoenician one! This argument could reinforce the Cypriote origin of literacy. Also, when the Greeks learned the syllabic script in the 12th century, the Semitic alphabet was not around. Phoenicians came to Cyprus only in the 9th century. As to why they did not stop using the syllabary, orthography is very conservative. Cuneiform writing, for example, was in the shadow of Aramaean since the 10th century for practical reasons, but it kept on until the time of Pompey.

A. Johnston: Cypriots used the syllabic script until the 3rd century B.C.

N. Marinatos: The subject of this colloquium is Tradition and Innovation. I would like to ask the philologists what is tradition and what is innovation in epic as it is formed in the 8th century?

W. Burkert: Formulaic elements which make up the systems that Parry has worked with are traditional. They are utensils used by the poet when recomposing and performing. They enable him to make a continuous and faultless poem. Some of the plots or parts of them could be innovation. When the poet of the *Odyssey* says *autodidaktos eimi* and that god governs inspiration, he is acknowledging the possibility of making new songs. For example the voyage of Telemachos and the last book of the *Odyssey* were new inventions. On the other hand, success of the plot depended on how the poet would produce the plot and use his formulas. It seems that the cyclic poets were much less successful in this respect.

P. Courbin to A. Johnston and W. Burkert: Many participants have insisted on the rediscovery of the Mycenaean past during the Geometric period. How do you explain the fact that they did not rediscover the Mycenaean script, which was already Greek, and they turned to the Phoenician instead?

A. Johnston: I do not see how Linear B could have been rediscovered in the 8th century.

J. Schäfer: Do we know that Linear B went out of use? All we know is that the palaces were destroyed in the 12th century, but how can we be sure that script was not used in the small villages and that literacy did not go on?

A. Johnston: It is a matter of the quality of the evidence. In Cyprus, for example, we have a similar script before and after the Dark Ages, which suggests that it was in use continuously. In Greece we have no evidence of such continuity.

Tradition in Greek Religion

by
B.C. Dietrich

Between the ninth and the end of the eighth century B.C. the number of Greek sanctuaries on the mainland had grown from barely a dozen to over seventy.[1] This dynamic expansion reflected the general Greek renaissance at the time but was nevertheless firmly rooted in the past, in a confusing variety of traditions. The most obvious of these was that of the Minoan/Mycenaean age. From their Mycenaean ancestors the Greeks inherited, together with their language, important gods, cults and festivals. The Mycenaean pantheon not only included a number of major Olympian figures but may already have linked them together in a kind of family relationship as in the east. The Indo-European Zeus and Hera were brought together before the end of the Mycenaean age. The months, too, were called after these gods and their festivals, along the same adjectival principle as in historic Greece. The technical vocabulary of cult, ritual, and even of priestly offices also continued from the Bronze Age. *Hagnos, hieros, hiereus* were familiar terms in Linear B, while the archaeological remains provide the evidence that similar sacrificial practices obtained.[2]

Some of the Archaic religious figures and institutions give the impression of being older even than the Minoan/Mycenaean world. Hermes' origin, for example, as stone phallus with apotropaeic, chthonic, as well as procreative powers,[3] belonged to the Stone Age. His characteristic ithyphallic herm was Pelasgian according to Herodotus.[4] In Cyllene, and probably in Arcadia, Hermes was actually worshipped in the form of a phallus.[5] If he was known to the Minoans and Mycenaeans, they adopted his figure from the earlier inhabitants of Greece. Some of Demeter's cults, if not her name,[6] also seem rooted in the Stone Age, with their sacrifice of pigs, phallic offerings, stone circles, as at Hermione, and the like.[7] Her widespread Thesmophoria festival may have been equally ancient for similar reasons.[8]

Those festivals of Poseidon and Artemis, which were common to Attic/Ionians and Arcadians, must also have existed before the Mycenaean development of the Argolid contrived to isolate Arcadia. Firstly they are not mentioned in the texts, and secondly they did not involve either the city Athens or the goddess Athena.[9] Now Minoan/Mycenaean culture, though continually exposed to Aegean, eastern and Neolithic European influence, presented a reasonably uniform religious system with clearly defined cult places and cult forms. Neolithic elements in this system stand out as alien to some degree, until their reemergence in historical times.

There is no doubt that the impact of epic poetry created an interest in the heroic past[10] and was respon-

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[1] J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece,* London 1977, pp. 317, 367.

[2] S. Hiller-O. Panagl, *Die frühgriechischen Texte aus mykenischer Zeit,* Darmstadt 1976, ch. 28; L.A. Stella, *Tradizione micenea e poesia dell'Iliade.* Urbino 1978, pp. 79—80; F. Gschnitzer, "Vocabulaire et Institutions: La Continuité Historique du Deuxième au Premier Millénnaire", in *Colloquium Mycenaeum, Acts of 6th Intern. Colloquium on Mycenaean/Aegean Texts,* Chaumont sur Neuchâtel 1975 (pr. 1979), pp. 109—132; more negatively conservative A. Morpurgo-Davies, "Terminology of Power and Terminology of Work in Greek and Linear B", in *Coll. Mycen.* (pr. 1979), pp. 87—108.

[3] J. Wiesner, *Olympos,* Darmstadt 1960, pp. 58—9; H. Herter, *RhM* 119, 1976, p. 197; "Phallos", *Der Kleine Pauly* 4, 1979, pp. 701—6; W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche,* Stuttgart 1977, p. 243.

[4] Hdt. 2.51.1.

[5] Paus. 6.26.5.

[6] Eleusia, Eleusinia, may be older cult titles, M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, 3rd ed., Munich 1967, p. 313.

[7] Paus. 2.34.10.

[8] E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen,* Munich 1969, p. 92; Burkert (supra n. 3), pp. 365—70.

[9] J. Sarkady, "Die Ionischen Feste und die Ionische Urgeschichte", *Acta Classica Debrecen* 1, 1965, pp. 16—17. On Poseidon's pre-Greek nature, see especially F. Schachermeyr, *Poseidon und die Entstehung der griechischen Götterwelt,* Bern 1950.

[10] There was a considerable expansion of hero cult in the eighth century B.C., cf. a late Archaic inscription from Mycenae, του ἥρωος ἐμι, L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece,* Oxford 1961, p. 174 no. 6 Pl. 31.

sible for some new hero cults, like that of Agamemnon near Mycenae, or of Menelaus and Helen at Therapne.[11] Rediscovered Mycenaean tombs at Menidi, Marathon, Mycenae, Corinth and in Messenia in the west,[12] the ruins of Bronze Age settlements, even the remains of an isolated house from the dim past, as at Athens,[13] attracted sanctuaries. More often, however, the religious institutions of the eighth century appear new only in contrast with the known forms of Minoan/Mycenaean cult. It has been noticed before that many Archaic and Classical shrines stood outside the towns. Hera's temples were some of the oldest in the Greek world, and in Argos, Olympia and on Samos they had been erected on the sites of Early Helladic settlements.[14]

Some chthonic rites of Artemis and Demeter, like her Arcadian cult as Kidaria,[15] the use of the mask and phallus, seem to fit in better with general Mediterranean and Old European Neolithic practices than with the more narrowly defined Minoan/Mycenaean religion.[16] Animal and human masks, phallus, or ithyphallic figurines, were practically universal throughout Neolithic times from Mesopotamia, the Zagros Mountains, Iran, Guran in western Asia,[17] to Cyprus,[18] Yugoslavia,[19] along the Danube,[20] in Greece in Thessaly,[21] Sesklo,[22] Corinth,[23] Tiryns,[24] and elsewhere. The common classical combination of mask and phallus,[25] too, had its ancestry in Neolithic Europe.[26]

The ithyphallic male figure has turned up in Minoan Symi and Pyrgos,[27] a phallus in Kumasa,[28] and various bisexual figures on sites like Kamilari and the Mycenaean sanctuary at Melian Phylakopi.[29] But these were patently marginal to Minoan/Mycenaean cult, unlike the greater continuity of Neolithic ideas in parts of the eastern world including Cyprus.[30] Thus when older religious practices returned to favour in Geometric and later Greece, they impinged on this heritage from the Bronze Age. The mixture was destined to lead to phenomena like the Mystery cults behind which lay Neolithic elements no less than the Minoan /Mycenaean figure of the Divine Child and basic features of cave cult.

Greek divine nomenclature can provide intriguing insights into such confused and sometimes incompatible traditions. Consider the Old European and Minoan/Mycenaean elements which culminated in the different aspects of the classical figure of Athena. The goddess probably began as a localised pre-Greek figure.[31] Her name first came into prominence in the cult of Mycenaean Athens,[32] Athena does occur once in Minoan Crete, where it clashed, however, with the more usual Minoan/Mycenaean invocatory title of Potnia,[33] and the Cretan toponym triton.[34] The epithet Tritogeneia could conceivably have linked Athena with Knossos,[35] but the myth surrounding Triton and Tritogeneia is complex[36] reflecting a pre-Minoan religious tradition which had also been localised in many other places.[37] In Mycenaean urban development she became a community and city goddess.[38] Nilsson's typical palace goddess, however,

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[11] J.M. Cook, *Geras A. Keramopoullou*, 1953, pp. 112—118; idem, *BSA* 48, 1953, pp. 30—68; T.H. Price, *Historia* 22, 1973, p. 129; J.N. Coldstream, *JHS* 96, 1976, pp. 8—17.

[12] A.M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971, pp. 192, 397; Coldstream (supra n. 1), p. 347, with further references.

[13] Snodgrass (supra n. 2), p. 439 n. 37, for refs.; V. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages*, London 1972, p. 278.

[14] C.W. Blegen, *Prosymna. The Helladic Settlement preceding the Argive Heraeum*, 1937; V. Milojčić, *Samos* I: *Die prähistorische Siedlung unter dem Heraion*, 1961, pp. 27—30; p. 68; Burkert (supra n. 3), p. 41; Coldstream (supra n. 1), p. 328.

[15] Paus. 8.15.3.

[16] Cf. Burkert (supra n. 3), p. 41; pp. 170—171.

[17] *CAH*, 3rd ed., I,1, 1970, p. 264; p. 272; p. 278; p. 436.

[18] J. Karageorghis, *La Grande Déesse de Chypre et son Culte*, Lyon 1977, p. 17; *BCH* 104, 1980, p. 772.

[19] Bosniam Danilo Culture, *CAH*, 3rd ed., pp. 598—9.

[20] Chalcolithic Vinça Culture, M. Gimbutas, "The Mask in Old Europe from 6500—3500 B.C.", *Archaeology* 27, 1974, p. 266; idem, *The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe*, London 1974, p. 66. Some of the views expressed in the book are too general and uncritical.

[21] Achilleion, *Archaeology* 27, 1974, p. 264.

[22] *BCH* 102, 1978, p. 704.

[23] Middle Neolithic, *CAH*, 3rd ed., I,1, 1970, p. 599.

[24] Early Helladic but pre-Mycenaean ithyphallic figurine, *Tiryns* V, Pl. 12, pp. 1—2; F. Schachermeyr, *Die Ägäische Frühzeit* I, Vienna 1976, Pl. 28 a & b.

[25] Burkert (supra n. 3), p. 171.

[26] E.g. in Vinça or Fafos I, *c.* 5000 B.C., Gimbutas, *Archaeology* 27, 1974, p. 268.

[27] Sitting figure, *ArchRep* 1977—78, p. 83.

[28] Cited by B. Rutkowski, *Cult Places in the Aegean World*, Warsaw 1972, p. 173 n. 55.

[29] A group from the tholos at Kamilari, J.A. Sakellarakis, *Herakleion Museum* (Guide), 1979, p. 53 and Fig. 15073: men with breasts. C. Renfrew, "The Mycenaean Sanctuary at Phylakopi", *Antiquity* 52, 1978, pp. 7—15.

[30] Particularly the use of the cultic mask in *e.g.* Kition, Temple V, Enkomi, Tamassos *etc.*, *BCH* 99, 1975, p. 835; 100, 1976, p. 879: life-size masks, clay face mask on cylindrical pillar, cf. *Arch Rep* 1975—76, pp. 41—43; *BCH* 102, 1978, p. 923: (Archaic) ritual mask at Tamassos; V. Karageorghis, "The Goddess with Uplifted Arms in Cyprus", *Scripta Minora* 1977—78, Lund 1977, p. 15; cf. A. Hermary, "Statuette d'un "Prêtre" Masqué", *BCH* 103, 1979, pp. 734—41.

[31] On the suffix *-ene*, see Hoffmann—Debrunner, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* I, 3rd ed., 1953, p. 70; O. Szemerényi, "The Origin of the Greek Lexicon", *JHS* 94, 1974, p. 155; Burkert (supra n. 3), p. 220.

[32] Supra n. 9. Perhaps the Mycenaeans imported Athena to Egypt (Neith, Hdt. 2.28, *etc.*), F. Schachermeyr, *Die Ägäische Frühzeit* II, Vienna 1976, p. 88.

[33] *atana potinija* KN V 52.

[34] *tirito*, Hiller-Panagl (supra n.2), p. 298.

[35] Trita = Knossos in a well-known Hesychian gloss, *q.v.*

[36] *E.g.* P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la Mythologique Grecque et Romaine*, Paris 1958, p. 57; pp. 340—341; p. 463, for ancient sources.

[37] Outside Crete, e.g. Thessaly, Arcadia, Boeotia, Libya. Sources in R.F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals*, London 1962, p. 282. See also J. Wiesner, *Olympos*, Darmstadt 1960, pp. 38—39.

[38] Of course it is possible, though unlikely, that *atana* in V 52 was nothing but a toponym, see especially L.R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, 2nd ed., London 1965, p. 131.

may not have been identified with the armed figure of Athena before the 7th or 6th century B.C., judging from the fully representative iconography from Subminoan to Geometric and Archaic at Gortyn.[39]

Recent discoveries have made it easier to assess the effect of this meeting of different religious streams and the surprisingly haphazard direction in which older traditions could develop. Kato Symi in southern Crete was the site of uninterrupted worship from Minoan until Roman times.[40] A typical Minoan peak and domestic cult,[41] with traces of mainland and eastern influence, evolved there without significantly changing its nature. The Minoan cult paraphernalia continued in use in the Iron Age, even the votive figurines retained their strong Minoan strain.[42] By the seventh, or perhaps sixth, century B.C. the chief figures there were known as Aphrodite and Hermes. The development of the familiar Hermes-type can be followed from the many dedications from Daedalic to the fifth century B.C. and Hellenistic times, when the cult names first appeared in inscriptions.[43]

Hermes' position in Minoan/Mycenaean religion is uncertain, and his credentials in Linear B remain subject to dispute.[44] Aphrodite's name is certainly missing from the texts. Nor do her nature and cults, despite a recently expressed view,[45] appear particularly Minoan. Once Sappho calls on her in Crete.[46] Her involvement in Ariadne's myth on Cyprus[47] and Delos,[48] also testify to the great age but not origin of Aphrodite's association with the island. She was Kypris and Kyprogenes,[49] because Mycenaean settlers first met her on Cyprus and identified her with their Wanassa. She had been the Golgian at Golgoi, or the Paphian at Paphos, or simply the Cypriot at Amathus, since the end of the Bronze Age.[50] The name Aphrodite, like Amyklaios, Amyklai,[51] is best explained as a Greek transliteration of a Phoenician title.[52] *Aporodita* may well have been coined from Astort in the Early Iron Age, certainly before the sixth century.[53]

Plutarch records that the association of Aphrodite and Hermes was ancient.[54] A few of their cult titles sound late and derivative, like Peitho on Lesbos,[55] Machanitis, the Tricky, in Megalopolis,[56] and Psithyros in Athens.[57] Elsewhere they were an old pair, at Argos,[58] Athens,[59] and on Delos.[60] In the last two Aphrodite was worshipped in the shape of an aniconic herm, as a kind of female Hermes. Other figures, too, had herms,[61] but the common ground of Aphrodite and Hermes was fertility, reproduction and the aspects of vegetation cult in general.[62] However, these basic characteristics varied enormously in the cults of different regions and periods. Aphrodite's oriental background and bisexual nature combined with the phallic pre-Greek Hermes figure to produce strange results. One outlandish example in Hellenistic belief is the Hermaphroditos whose cult appealed to the superstitious man of Theophrastus.[63]

Their association at Symi contained the same mix-

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[39] The development of the armed Athena figure with shield, spear and helmet has been traced and discussed by G. Rizza—V.S.M. Scrinari, *Il Santuario sull'Acropoli di Gortina*, Rome 1968, Pl. 11, no. 59 (7th cent.); Pls. 14—16: 4th century terracottas of the armed goddess, and stylistically related to 6th century heads of the armed Athena from Papoura, *BCH* 102, 1978, p. 631.

[40] Reports in *ArchRep* from 1972—73 to 1978—79; *BCH* 97, 1973, p. 398; 98, 1974, pp. 707—708; 99, 1975, p. 685; 102, 1978, p. 754.

[41] Doro Levi, "Caratteri e Continuità del Culto Cretese sulle Vette Montane", *ParPass* 181, 1978, pp. 294—313.

[42] *ArchRep* 1978—79, p. 38.

[43] BCH 99, 1975, pp. 685 & 687.

[44] M. Gérard—Rousseau, *Les Mentions Religieuses dans les tablettes Mycéniennes*, Rome 1968, pp. 856; A. Heubeck, *Aus der Welt der frühgriechischen Lineartafeln*, Göttingen 1966, p. 100; Hiller-Panagl (supra n. 2), p. 293.

[45] G. Pugliese—Carratelli, "Afrodite Cretese", *SMEA* 20, 1979, pp. 131—41.

[46] δεῦρύ μ᾽ ἐκ Κρήτας, Frg. 2 (Page). There is an interesting discussion of different traditions and elements in the origins of Aphrodite by P. Friedrich, *The Meaning of Aphrodite*, Chicago 1978, ch. 2, pp. 9—54.

[47] Paion in Plutarch, *Thes.* 20.

[48] Paus. 9.40.3.

[49] Hesiod, *Theog.* 199; *HomHymn Aphr.* 10,1.

[50] O. Masson, *Les inscript. chypriotes syllabiques*, 1961, pp. 103—4; pp. 112—5; p. 206 n. 1; p. 245; pp. 259—62; "Remarques sur les Cultes Cypriotes à l'Europe du Bronze Récent", *Acts Inter. Archaeol. Sympos.* "The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean", Nicosia 1973, p. 116.

[51] See B.C. Dietrich, "Some Evidence from Cyprus of Apolline Cult in the Bronze Age", *RhM* 121, 1978, pp. 7—8.

[52] Perhaps Astort, as on a 9th century B.C. inscription from Kition, A. Dupont-Somner, "Une Inscription phénicienne archaïque récemment trouvée à Kition, Chypre", *MémAcInscr* 44, 1970, p. 15. This seems the most plausible etymology. The meanings of Greek divine names are notoriously obscure (Burkert, supra n. 3, p. 283). Few are obviously Greek or even Indo-European words. Aphrodite's name is not counted among them, although attempts at finding Greek derivations continue. The latest is in Friedrich (supra n. 46), Append. 6, pp. 201—2.

[53] O. Masson, *ICS*, Paris 1961, 243, 3. See further on the likely etymology of Aphrodite, J.E. Dugand, "Aphrodite-Astarte", *Annal. de la Fac. des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Nice* 21, 1974, p. 80; Karageorghis (supra n. 18), p. 109. The myth of Aphrodite's birth and genealogy always betrayed her eastern nature, Wiesner (supra n. 37), p. 21.

[54] Plutarch, *Coniug. Praecep.* 138D.

[55] Inscription in Keil, *Philologus* Suppl. 2, p. 579.

[56] Paus. 8.31.3.

[57] Harpocration *s.v.*

[58] Tradition of ancient xoana of Aphrodite and Hermes, Paus. 2.19.6. See also L.R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* 5, Oxford 1909, p. 12; p. 63, for other examples. For the common association of Aphrodite and Hermes in cult and art, see also H. Thiersch, *SBHeid* 1913, 4, p. 37; D.M. Robinson, *Olynthus* 10, 1941, p. 6; E.B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora* 11, Princeton 1965, p. 38; A. Lempesis, *AAA* 6, 1973, p. 104.

[59] Aphrodite Urania "*en kepois*", Paus. 1.19.2.

[60] Paus. 9.40.3—4.

[61] Herter (supra n. 3), p. 204 n. 37.

[62] Cf. Nilsson (supra n. 6), p. 503.

[63] Theophr., *char.* 16,10. A phallic herm with female head and breasts. Wilamowitz was not convinced that such a figure had any standing in religious belief or cult, U.v. Wilamowitz—Möllendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I, repr. Darmstadt 1959, p. 94 n. 1: "Was später die Kunst gebildet hat, geht sie allein an." Herter (supra n. 3), pp. 201—2 and n. 26; Burkert (supra n. 3), p. 238; p. 337. Cf. M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*

ture of Minoan, pre-Greek and Greek elements together with Aphrodite's oriental background. At Symi and on another peak site at Pyrgos,[64] Aphrodite and Hermes replaced the Minoan pair of goddess and male associate. By the eighth century their cult recalled pre-Greek forms but in Minoan dress. The many votives include an ithyphallic Hermes figure,[65] which can only be paralleled from Pyrgos,[66] a Geometric figure with whip, a bisexual bronze figurine holding a conical cup and standing on a Cypriot-type ingot,[67] and finally a Gorgon mask but on a fifth century ring.[68] These were found together with the more usual Minoan artefacts of goddess and bull figurines, horns of consecration and similar cult implements, including numerous terracotta miniature bronze shields familiar from finds in the Idaean Cave at Gortyn.[69]

What sort of cult would embrace all these elements from vastly different times and places? Clearly the basic nature of Aphrodite and Hermes made them compatible with the Minoan peak and cave cult which revolved about death and renewal. The tradition of this cult remained alive in the historical myth and cult of the new figures. The evidence is well known regarding Hermes,[70] and Aphrodite, especially in her Cnidian cult.[71] At Symi the remains of votive tripods, like those from the Idaean Cave, suggest the same association with death and rebirth.[72] The Minoan ritual appears in a number of scenes with a divine epiphany, various cult implements and not infrequently a tree as part of the ceremony.[73] A typical scene was engraved on the LM I bronze votive tablet from the Psychro Cave.[74] Quite remarkably just such a tree epiphany may have survived on an early sixth century cut-out plaque from Symi depicting a young Hermes sitting in what looks like a Tree of Life.[75] He was either Ledrites, or more probably Kedrites,[76] like Artemis Kedreatis whose image was placed in a cedar tree.[77]

Cave, epiphany, the periodical return of gods in Classical and Hellenistic religion primarily belonged to Mystery cults in the service of Demeter rather more frequently than of Aphrodite. Dionysus, too, often, but not invariably replaced Hermes.[78] A fifth century pelike from Camirus, for example, shows our pair together. Aphrodite appears from below flanked by an ithyphallic Pan and by Hermes brandishing a stick or whip recalling the so-called "flagellant" from Symi. The scene is an *anodos*, and Hermes is engaged in beating the ground in order to summon the nether deity.[79] It is quite conceivable that the ritual descended from a cult like that at Symi and arose from a mixture of Neolithic as well as Minoan/Mycenaean tradition. A Minoan *anodos* scene has been identified on a cup from Phaistos.[80] But whatever the mechanics of the divine epiphany, its significance could hardly have altered much. Hence the continued use of the tripod in such ceremonial as seen on an Early Geometric funerary pithos lid from Fortetsa, near Knossos, with an *anodos* from beneath a tripod,[81] and a 7th century B.C. bronze mitra which was found in the ruins of Aphrodite's temple at Axos.[82] By Geometric times already it seems impossible to tell Minoan apart from pre-Bronze Age tradition at Symi.

Tripod and associated remains lead us back to the Cyprus connection which is most impressively revealed by the 8th century figure on an ingot.[83] The workmanship is Cretan but the religious significance undoubtedly Oriental/Cypriot like the "Barrengott"

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mit Ausschluss der Attischen, Leipzig 1906, p. 370 n. 1; p. 374. Cretan androgynism, *ibidem*, p. 370 n. 4, most likely derived from eastern practice.

[64] Hellenistic shrine to Aphrodite and Hermes at Pyrgos V, *ArchRep* 1977—78, p. 83.

[65] *ParPass* 181, 1978, p. 304.

[66] Presumably of Minoan date, *ArchRep* 1977—78, p. 83.

[67] E.g. *BCH* 101, 1977, p. 648; 102, 1978, p. 754; *ArchRep* 1978—79, p. 38.

[68] *BCH* 99, 1975, pp. 485 & 687.

[69] *BCH* 99, 1975, p. 685; p. 687; *ParPass* 181, 1978, p. 304; St. Alexiou, *Minoische Kultur* (Germ.transl.), Göttingen 1976, pp. 109—110; Wiesner (supra n. 37), p. 41, distinguishes between the Oriental and Minoan armed goddess with lance and shield.

[70] B.C. Dietrich, *The Origins of Greek Religion*, Berlin 1974, p. 87; p. 187.

[71] I.C. Love in *AJA* 77, 1973, p. 419.

[72] On the function of the tripod cauldron as an instrument of rebirth, see Ch. Uhsadel-Gülke, *Knochen und Kessel*, Meisenheim 1972 (Beitr. zur klass. Philol., 43). See also the discussion, with further literature, in Dietrich, "Reflections on the Origins of Oracular Apollo", *BICS* 25, 1978, pp. 6—7.

[73] Dietrich (supra n. 70), p. 83; p. 91; p. 171; Burkert (supra n. 3), p. 78; p. 81; p. 85.

[74] A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* I, London 1925, p. 632, Fig. 470; Nilsson (supra n. 6), Pl. 7,3; Dietrich (supra n. 70), p. 83; p. 171.

[75] *ArchRep* 1974—75, p. 28 and Fig. 53. On tree epiphanies in Greek and other religions, cf. M. Eliade, *Traité d'Histoire des Religions*, Paris 1949, pp. 243—4.

[76] Epithet on a 3rd century A.D. votive inscription which had been wrongly read as Dendrites. See G. Daux, *BCH* 100, 1976, pp. 211—213. Daux considers an initial Λ for K "invraisemblable", *i.e.* Hermes of Ledrae, Ledroi or Ledron in Cyprus, cf. the 7th century B.C. tribute list of Asarhaddon and Assurbanipal which reads *Li-di-ir*. On the adjectival form Ledrius in Cyprus, *RevPhil* 32, 1958, p. 93. See also *RE*, 1924, "Ledroi", cols. 1125—7; and Schwyzer 1,500 on —ιτης as a common locative suffix. Carratelli *SMEA* 20, 1979, pp. 131—2, connects the epithet with Crete.

[77] Paus. 8.13.2.

[78] See C. Bérard, *Anodoi. Essai sur l'Imagerie des Passages Chthoniens*, Rome 1974, especially ch. 7—9 on Aphrodite and Hermes in such rites of return.

[79] Bérard (supra n. 78), p. 59; p. 110; p. 131; p. 157; Pl. 18,63. Flagellant figurine at Symi, *ArchRep* 1976—77, p. 64. On the classical rite of beating the ground on such occasions, as in the cult of Demeter Kidaria in Pheneus, see Burkert (supra n. 3), p. 171.

[80] C. Kerényi, *Eleusis. Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter*, 1967, pp. XIX—XX; I. Chirassi, *Elementi di culture precereali nei miti e riti Greci*, Rome 1968, p. 104 and Pl. 31; p. 123.

[81] The god's identity remains disputed, D. Levi, *Hesperia* 14, 1945, Pl. 28,3; *AJA* 49, 1945, p. 310, Fig. 20; *BICS* 25, 1978, p. 7.

[82] *AJA* 49, 1945, Fig. 15; H. Hoffmann, *Early Greek Armorers*, Mainz 1972, p. 37, identifies the figure as Athena. Aphrodite seems more probable.

[83] *ArchRep* 1978—79, p. 38 and Fig. 50.

and -"göttin" from the Mycenaean settlements at Enkomi and Kition.[84] The bisexual characteristics of the Symi figure recall the same nature of the Cretan /Cypriot Astarte/Aphrodite.[85] In the western Aegean metallurgy was first practised in Crete since the Early Bronze Age or earlier. The copper ore was imported from Anatolia or Cyprus,[86] and by the early second millennium B.C. Cretan craftsmen were skilled enough to cast monumental bronze statuary.[87] The Symi figure, not to say divinity, on an ingot therefore is an important reminder that in Crete, as in Cyprus, the metal industry was intimately connected with the welfare and prosperity of the community and formed a central part in its religious belief.

These points are reflected in myth which equated metallurgical skill with magic, and which preserved the memory of this industry's connection with the province of the Great Mother Goddess.[88] For instance the Idaean Dactyls remained firmly anchored in Eastern and Cretan tradition as workers of magic and the inventors of metal work,[89] as well as the children of the Cretan Rhea in the west and of the Idaean Mother Goddess in the Troad.[90] The Dactyls were identical with the dwarf-like Telchines, Couretes, Corybants and similar creatures of Cretan myth,[91] all of whom were renowned for their powers of magic and skill in metal technology. Cretan tradition was so strong in fact that it managed to reverse the order of the transmission of metallurgy to run from west to east.[92]

In Cyprus metal workshops were placed in the physical protection of the Aphrodite/Astarte temples at Kition and Athienou,[93] and later still, in Archaic times, at Tamassos.[94] The patron deities of the city's copper industry were shown standing on ingots.[95] They had evolved from a goddess of nature and her associate, who now in the new city symbolized the "fertility" of the mines.[96] In historical times the pair were worshipped as Aphrodite and Hephaestus. Their cult association travelled west but was misunderstood becoming the subject of ridicule in Homer.[97]

It appears that the Minoans and Mycenaeans brought back with them this eastern Aphrodite figure, together with her new name. It is impossible to judge whether she was imagined as bisexual or associated with a separate male figure. In either case, however, her connection at Symi with the Minoan deities of peak and cave cult and with the pre-Greek Hermes shows a religious compound of startling range. Later tradition evidently did not concern itself with origins, but preferred to draw from those inherited elements which best suited its own interests, such as rebirth, initiation and mystery rites.

The ease with which the worshipper in the Geometric age accepted such diffuse syncretism does explain some of the surprising divine metamorphosis in Greek religion. Epic literature, for example, allied Aphrodite, Goddess of Love and Beauty, with Ares, God of War and Strength. This pair competed with that of Aphrodite and Hermes and a third association of Aphrodite with Hephaestus. Of these only the first can be called "new", however. But then it did not really represent religious belief.

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[84] The figure has been much discussed. Modern literature in H.-G. Buchholz, "Beobachtungen zum prähistorischen Bronzeguss in Zypern und der Ägäis", *Acts Intern. Arch. Symp.*, Nicosia 1979, p. 84 n. 39. H. Catling, in: *Alasia* I, 1971, p. 15; V. Karageorghis, *Kition: Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus*, London 1976, p. 74.

[85] Cf. a figurine from Ayia Irini with breasts and beard. Perhaps in these examples the worshippers imagined the male and female deities to have fused into one being. Quite remarkable in this context are the bisexual figures with female human upper parts and male animal lower body from Ayia Irini. In these combinations the "goddess" parts were stylistically related to the Minoan/Mycenaean community goddess type with upraised arms, Karageorghis (supra n. 30), p. 20; p. 27.

[86] P. Phillipps, *The Prehistory of Europe*, London 1980, p. 202.

[87] An MM life-size mould for a hand has been found by the Italian excavators at Phaistos, C. Laviosa, *ASAtene* 45/46, 1967/68, p. 499; Buchholz (supra n. 84), p. 82.

[88] J.G. Parr, *Man, Metals and Modern Magic*, 1958, on the connection of magic with metal work.

[89] Clem. Alex. 1.16.75, 4 pp. 48—9; H. Herter, *RE* V A1, 1934, p. 221; R. J. Forbes, in F. Matz—H.-G. Buchholz, *Archaeologia Homerica, Göttingen 1967*, p. 29; Buchholz (supra n. 84), pp. 77—8. They were called *Goetes* in the 7th century B.C., W. Burkert, *RhM* 105, 1962, p. 36; p. 39.

[90] References collected in Grimal (supra n. 36), p. 113.

[91] Diod. 5.55.2; Strabo p. 654; Eust. on *Il.* 9.525, pp. 771—2. P. Realacci, "Telchines, maghi nel sogno delle Transformazione", in *Magia, Studi di Storia delle Religioni, Mem. R. Garosi*, Rome 1976, pp. 197—206; Buchholz (supra n. 84), pp. 78—9; see also Herter (supra n. 89), pp. 203—4; p. 223, on the Telchines, together with other related figures.

[92] Apollod. in Strabo pp. 653—4. Cf. Athena Telchinia's move from Crete to Rhodes, Herter (supra n. 89), pp. 203—4. "Als gebender Teil ist in diesem Fall Zypern anzusehen", Buchholz (supra n. 84), p. 85 n. 41. The author distinguishes between copper working, which moved from east to west, and the knowledge of iron working which was transmitted in the opposite direction. He believes that tradition only reflected the secondary movement, *ibidem*, p. 80.

[93] *BCH* 97, 1973, p. 656 (Athienou); 98, 1974, p. 866 (copper workings at Kition from LC II).

[94] *BCH* 97, 1973, p. 665; 98, 1974, p. 882; 100, 1976, p. 886; Buchholz (supra n. 84), p. 78 and n. 8. For similar practices in Anatolia, Syria and other eastern settlements in the Late Bronze Age, see Karageorghis (supra n. 84), p. 75.

[95] *BCH* 96, 1972, p. 1059; *AJA* 77, 1973, p. 53; Karageorghis (supra n. 84), pp. 74—5.

[96] Karageorghis (supra n. 84), p. 170.

[97] B. C. Dietrich, "Views of Homeric Gods and Religion", *Numen* 26, 1980, p. 134.

Discussion

N. Marinatos: I basically agree that *some* elements of Bronze Age religion survived into Greek religion, but I am struck by some elements which are absent in Minoan and Mycenaean religion although present in Neolithic and historical times. Such are ithyphallic and bisexual figurines and representations. They exist but are very rare indeed, so I was wondering if their presence in historical times is due to reintroduction rather than survival.

B.C. Dietrich: Admittedly the examples are rare but their existence (for example a bisexual group from Kamilari) indicates that these elements were known to the Minoans and Mycenaeans but were rejected; they were marginal to their religion. Later they re-emerge under influence from the East.

H. Evjen: There are some representations of phalluses in Minoan art, on the Zakros sealings published by Hogarth.

A. Johnston: On some unpublished fragments of a Cretan relief pithos in the British Museum we have the first satyrs in Cretan art, and the artist seems to have had little idea how to represent the ithyphallic satyr. It seems that this type of representation was really out of place in Crete, especially since in Attica vase painters were producing rather lusty satyrs during the same period.

J.N. Coldstream: You referred to the Fortetsa lid with the tripod scene which you connect with *anodos*. This recalls another such scene on the relief pithos from Tenos published by Kontoleon, where the birth of a deity (Athena?) is represented. What is the significance of these scenes? Preparing hot baths for purification? Or a bath connected with rebirth?

B.C. Dietrich: Tripods in art and myth are indeed connected with rebirth and regeneration.

Mycenaean Traditions in Early Greek Cult Images

by
Stefan Hiller

The surviving elements of Mycenaean culture became important and active when the tide of civilization began to arise anew. In art it is recognized that the survivals of the Mycenaean Age, however scanty, were of great importance as starting points when Greek art began its first development in the early archaic age. In religion the same tendency is still more likely to have prevailed.

M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion*[2] (1950), p. 483.

It is generally acknowledged that Greek monumental sculpture did not arise before the middle of the seventh century. Nevertheless it has been pointed out recently that before monumental stone sculpture began, there existed wooden sculptures.[1] Apart from other considerations which lead to this conclusion, it is also confirmed by Greek tradition, which usually uses the term '*xoanon*' to designate most venerable, old cult images. Unfortunately in most cases of such *xoana* we do not have a clear idea about their shape.[2] For that reason it is difficult or impossible to determine their precise chronology. All we can deduce from the literary evidence is that in the eyes of the classical Greeks they must have looked very old.

The problem is not made any easier by the association of some of these wooden sculptures with the name of Daedalus. Generally this Daedalus may be identified with a Cretan artist of the middle of the seventh century or a corresponding style which was equated with the name of Daedalus, but it remains an open question how this supposed mid-seventh century Daedalus is related to the mythological Daedalus of King Minos' epoch.[3] It will hardly be denied that the Dance of Ariadne which according to Homer[4] was a work of the legendary Daedalus represents a memory of the Minoan period. This dance has also been interpreted as a work of sculpture showing dancing persons.[5] Thus the name of Daedalus may conceal not only a real artist of the Early Archaic period but also works of art of much earlier date.

The same may be true of several Greek cult images, the origins of which went back to heroic times according to tradition. To these cult images belonged among others the statues of Artemis Orthia,[6] Athena Lindia,[7] and the Argive Hera,[8] to cite only some outstanding examples. Unfortunately, we can never feel sure how far these traditions can be relied on. And though the places cited were important centres of Late Bronze Age Greece, there is no archaeological proof for Mycenaean sanctuaries at these sites, not to speak of the still greater problem of cult continuity throughout the Dark Ages.[9]

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[1] H.-V. Herrmann, "Zum Problem der Entstehung der griechischen Großplastik", *AA* 1974, pp. 636 ff.; idem (with identical title), in: *Wandlungen. Studien zur Antiken und Neueren Kunst. Festschrift Homann-Wedeking*, Waldsassen 1975, pp. 35—48, where, also, the older literature on this subject is critically reviewed.

[2] On the tradition on *xoana*, see Fr. Willemsen, *Frühgriechische Kultbilder*, Würzburg 1939; H. W. Groß, *RE* IX A2, coll. 2140 ff., s.v. Xoanon; J. Papadopoulos, *Xoana e Sphyrelata. Testimonianze delle fonti scritte*, Rom 1980.

[3] On Daedalus as a half-historical and half-legendary person, see E. Homann-Wedeking, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Großplastik*, Berlin 1950, pp. 42 ff.; C. Davaras, *Die Statue aus Astritsi*, Bern 1972, pp. 41 ff.

[4] *Il.* 18, 590.

[5] Cf. J. v. Oeteghem, "La Danse Minoenne dans l'Iliade (18,590—606)", *EtCl* 18, 1950, pp. 323 ff.; W. Schadewaldt, *Homer und sein Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1959[3], p. 484, n. 1 (regarding p. 367); Homann-Wedeking (supra n. 3), p. 44; *Der Kleine Pauly* I, col. 1360, s.v. Daidalos; I. Beyer, *Die Tempel von Dreros und Prinias*, Freiburg 1976, pp. 67 ff.

[6] Cf. Willemsen (supra n. 2), pp. 30 f.

[7] Cf. Willemsen (supra n. 2), pp. 30 f.; V. Bianchi, "La Dea di Lindos", *Epigraphica* 19, 1957, pp. 10 f.

[8] Cf. W. Frickenhaus, in: *Tiryns* I, Athen 1912, pp. 19 ff., 52 ff.; F. Jacoby, "Io Kallithyessa", *Hermes* 57, 1922, pp. 366—374.

[9] On discussions of this problem, cf. A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971, pp. 394 ff.

These difficulties should not, however, deter us from a renewed examination of the problem utilizing all sources of information. Since unequivocal examples of religious continuity have been established,[10] we cannot exclude the possibility that some Mycenaean cult images may have survived and were still extant in Classical times. But since no such image has been discovered so far, this leaves us in the dark about what Mycenaean cult images may have looked like.[11] Consequently we have to rely on works of the smaller arts, like the statuettes from Tiryns, from Archanes or on a newly published seal at Neuchâtel (*CMS* X, 270), showing a cult image within a building. On the whole there can be no doubt that anthropomorphic cult images existed in Late Mycenaean times.[12]

Our first task is to demonstrate that some of these Mycenaean idols did survive until Classical times. Here again our argumentation has to take a roundabout way by using the reflections of early cult images in other categories of art. Our main evidence for these are red-figure Greek vases from the fifth century. These show goddesses with upraised arms, e.g. a pelike in Leningrad, a krater at Vienna (*Fig. 1*) or a kalpis at Naples.[13] Evidently the vase-painters were trying to represent very old-fashioned statues but were inevitably influenced by their own aesthetics and by their idea of anthropomorphic gods; for each cult statue however old-fashioned it may have been in the eyes of the Classical Greek beholder, it embodied the living god. This further complicates the determination of the chronology of these images. Their long and slender stature prompts doubts whether we have representations of Mycenaean images. On the other hand, the very characteristic feature of their upraised arms speaks in favour of a date rather before, than long after, 700 B.C. After that date this significant gesture vanishes and no longer plays any role in plastic arts. Since, however, as we shall now argue, this type with upraised arms underwent something like a short renaissance in the Late Geometric period, we cannot exclude the possibility that the models of our vase paintings may have belonged to this period.

At all events, these vase paintings furnish clear evidence of the survival of a most significant and conspicuous type of Late Bronze Age art. Even if the models of statues like those we find on fifth-century vase paintings date from the Geometric period, they still testify to the survival of Late Bronze Age cult images, because Geometric ones had also to be modelled on corresponding, still existing older examples. Though this is only an indirect proof for the existence of Mycenaean cult images in historical times it is, in my opinion, uncontestable.

We have said (and this has been recognized in previous studies in the field) that there was a remarkable revival of these Mycenaean statues with upraised arms during the late ninth, the eighth and the early seventh centuries.[14] We find it, for instance, in a num-

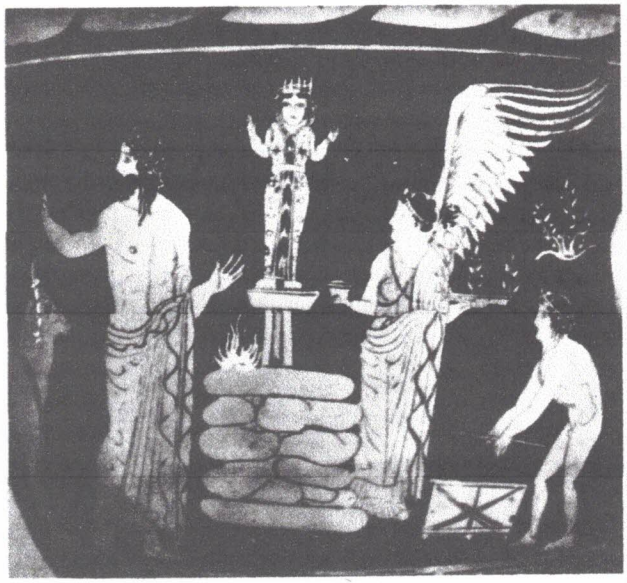

Fig. 1. Scene on red-figure krater in Vienna.

[10] M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival*, Lund 1950², pp. 447 ff.; F. Schachermeyr, *Die Minoische Kultur des Alten Kreta*, Stuttgart 1964, pp. 296 ff.; B. C. Dietrich, "Some Evidence of Religious Continuity in the Greek Dark Age", *BICS* 17, 1970, pp. 16 ff.; idem, *The Origins of Greek Religion*, Berlin 1974, pp. 191 ff.

[11] I hesitate to accept that the terracotta idols from Mycenae, Tiryns and Phylakopi were true cult images. I prefere to designate them as idols, as I do with the Cretan Late Bronze/Early Iron Age statuettes from Gazi, Karphi and other places. On the other hand it does not seem doubtful that they reflect the shape of—perhaps wooden—cult images.

[12] F. Matz, *Göttererscheinung und Kultbild im minoischen Kreta*, Abh. Akad. Wiss. und Lit., Mainz 1958, Nr. 7; B. Rutkowski, "Temple and Cult Statue in the Aegean World", in: *Proc3CretCongr*, Athens 1973, pp. 290 ff.

[13] For these and other vessels showing cult images, cf. K. Schefold, "Statuen auf Vasenbildern", *JdI* 52, 1937, pp. 30 ff., Figs. 11 ff.; E. Bielefeld, "Götterstatuen auf attischen Vasenbildern", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Ernst Moritz Arndt-Universität Greifswald* 4, 1954/55, Gesellschafts- und Sprachw. Reihe, Nr. 4/5, pp. 379 ff., 402, Fig. 1 (= *CVA Wien*, Kunsthist. Mus., III, Taf. 118,5.6).

[14] E. Kunze, "Zeusbilder in Olympia", *Antike und Abendland* II, 1956, p. 99; idem, *VII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Berlin 1961, pp. 138 ff.; idem, *VIII. Ber. Ausgr. Ol.*, Berlin 1967, pp. 213 ff.; E. Brandt, *Gruß und Gebet. Eine Studie zu Gebärden in der Minoisch-mykenischen und frühgriechischen Kunst*, Waldsassen 1965, pp. 35 ff., where the probability of the survival of Mycenaean cult images is pointed out repeatedly, cf. pp. 49, 53, 54; H.-V. Herrmann, *Olympia. Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte*, München 1972, pp. 59, 75; cf. also *AthMitt* 77, 1962, pp. 26 ff.; B. C. Dietrich (supra n. 9), p. 210; G. St. Korres, "Minoikai Epibioseis kai Anabioseis", in: *Proc3CretCongr*, Athens 1973, pp. 426 ff.; cf. also A. M. Snodgrass (supra n. 9), p. 83, Fig. 41, p. 324, p. 339; J. N. Coldstream, *Deities in Aegean Art*, London 1976, p. 10, n. 34; H. Paleologou, "Un vase géométrique figuratif", in: *Études Argiennes (BCH Suppl. VI)*, Paris 1980, pp. 85 ff. — For Cypriote examples, cf. V. Karageorghis, *The Goddess with Uplifted Arms in Cyprus*, Lund 1977.

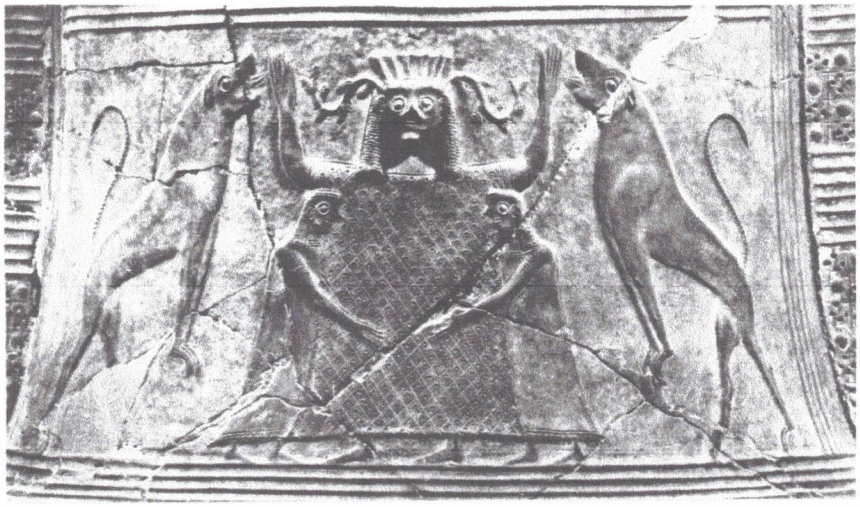

Fig. 2. Relief pithos from Thebes.

ber of male bronze statuettes from Olympia which may date from the tenth to the eighth century, and have been convincingly interpreted as representations of Zeus.[15] Perhaps we have here a post-Mycenaean transference of an original female feature to a male god, though the existence of Late Bronze Age male statuettes has been proved by the discovery of male idols in the shrines at Mycenae and Phylakopi;[16] for this reason a Bronze Age origin also for male idols with upraised arms should also not be completely excluded.

The female type occurs, to cite only some prominent instances, in a relief from the Athenian Agora, a clay statuette from Lemnos and another from Cyprus, both of a seventh-century date, and also on the famous relief pithos from Thebes (*Fig. 2*).[17] The latter is of special interest since its relation to Late Bronze Age iconography is not confined to the upraised arms only: for the lions we may compare those from the Lion Gate at Mycenae or from the so-called "Mother of the Mountains" sealing from Knossos (*Fig. 3*), while the two female attendants call to mind another Cretan sealing shich shows a comparable scene (*Fig. 4*).[18]

The type with upraised arms comes to its end, as we have said, in the middle of the seventh century, presumably because it offended the aesthetics of the Early Archaic style, which prefers close contours and cubic shapes. On the other hand, two further types which also make their appearance in the repertory of

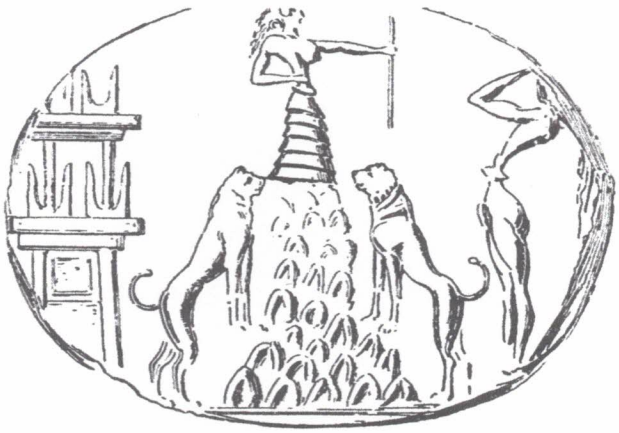

Fig. 3. Sealing from Knossos.

Fig. 4. Minoan sealing showing a seated goddess and two handmaidens.

[15] Kunze, *AuA* (supra n. 14), pp. 99 f.; H.-V. Herrmann (supra n. 14), p. 73; Coldstream (supra n. 14), p. 12, n. 43.

[16] For the idols from Mycenae, cf. W. D. Taylour, "New Aspects on Mycenaean Religion", in: *Acta of the 2nd International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory*, Athens 1972, pp. 76 ff.; for the male figures from Phylakopi, cf. C. Renfrew, "The Mycenaean Sanctuary at Phylakopi", *Antiquity* 52, 1978, pp. 7 ff, 13, Pls. V, VI*b*. — For possible further examples, cf. Bielefeld (supra n. 13), p. 390, n. 57. — Cf. Coldstream (supra n. 14), p. 12.

[17] Relief from the Agora: D. Burr, "A Geometric House and Proto-Attic Votive deposit", *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pp. 542 ff.; E. T. H. Brann, *Agora* VIII, Princeton 1962, p. 87, Nr. 493, Pl. 30; E. Vermeule, *Götterkult = Archaeologia Homerica* III, Kap. V, Göttingen 1974, p. 162, Taf. X a. — Lemnos-Statuette: *ArchEph* 1937, 2, coll. 614 ff., Pl. 3; Pithos at Thebes: K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder*, München 1964, Pl. 12; R. Hampe und E. Simon, *Tausend Jahre frühgriechische Kunst*, München 1980, Abb. 441.

[18] Evans, *PM* IV, p. 608, Fig. 597 A, e; the sealing with a seated goddess and two handmaidens: Evans, *PM* IV, p. 518, Fig. 461.

Fig. 5. Representation from the Homage Krater (Paris, Musée du Louvre).

later eighth-century small sculpture were destined to become basic for Classical Greek sculpture. One is the type of the smiting deity, the other is the type of the enthroned deity. While the smiting type is mainly preserved for male gods, the seated one seems to have been more usual for goddesses; nevertheless there may have been exceptions in both cases.[19]

We begin with the seated type, which, e.g., is attested for the Late Geometric period by a painted bowl at Athens and a clay statuette in New York. It is extremely common and indeed unspecific, for it goes back at least to the Neolithic period and occurs wherever the artist sought to express dignity. Here we have nothing which could be called exclusively Mycenaean or Early Greek. It is therefore impossible to show that the appearance of this type in eighth-century small sculpture and vase painting depends on Mycenaean models, though there are numerous Late Bronze Age examples depicting enthroned deities, such as the famous Tiryns gold ring or the well known small terracotta statuettes.[20] Bronze statuettes representing enthroned gods have been found on Cyprus and also deserve mention in this connection.[21]

The Cypriot examples are important for us because they differ from the Mycenaean clay statuettes in having thrones with four feet, whereas the Mycenaean thrones show only three. This is a remarkable feature which might speak against a derivation of the four-footed Geometric throne idols from the Mycenaean ones.[22] On the other hand we do not know whether the three-footed type is not a mere convention within the tradition of the minor arts, since more representative thrones, as we know them from the so-called Throne-Room at Knossos and as they are also presupposed for Mycenaean throne-rooms, had four feet.[23] Yet, since a three-footed throne seems to be indicated on the so-called Homage Krater in the Louvre (*Fig. 5*),[24] both types may have coexisted in the Late Bronze Age. The three-footed type was, however, supplanted by the throne with four feet in the later epoch. But there is to believe that this development had already begun in Late Mycenaean times: from the cemetery at Perati comes a clay model with four feet which—in the words of E. French—"is probably the latest in date of all these examples".[25] It shows that

Fig. 6. Bird sitting on the back of a throne; red-figured lekythos at Cleveland.

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[19] Thus, to a certain degree, the Palladion type is an adaption of the smiting god type; on the other hand the clay statuette at New York, representing a sitting figure and usually interpreted as female, could also be interpreted as male; for the early Palladion type, cf. n. 41, — for the seated clay statuette, cf. also n. 21.

[20] The Tiryns gold ring: Marinatos-Hirmer, *Kreta, Thera und das Mykenische Hellas*, München 1973, Pl. 229; on the seated terracotta statuettes, see E. French, "The development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines", *BSA* 66, 1971, pp. 167 ff.; for Late Geometric representations, cf. the bowl *AthMitt* 18, 1893, pp. 113 ff., Fig. 10, also Davaras (supra n. 3), p. 39, n. 201, and Coldstream (supra n. 14), p. 11, n. 42; for the New York clay statuette, cf. R. A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, London 1967, Fig. 7 *f.g*; cf. also P. Kranz, *AthMitt* 87, 1972, p. 105, Pl. 2,1.2.

[21] H. W. Catling, *Cypriote Bronze Work in the Mycenaean World*, Oxford 1964, pp. 253 f., Pl. 45 *c.d.e*; V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Art from Cyprus*, Nicosia 1968, p. 26, Nr. 20, Pl. XX.

[22] Cf. P. Kranz, "Frühe griechische Sitzfiguren", *AthMitt* 87, 1972, pp. 46 ff.; P. Kranz, nevertheless, accepts a Mycenaean tradition. — Davaras (supra n. 3), pp. 14 f., 39; cf. also W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jh. v. Chr.*, Darmstadt 1979, p. 175.

[23] The Knossos throne is clearly a stone imitation of a wooden one. For its religious significance, cf. H. Reusch, *Minoica. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von J. Sundwall*, ed. by E. Grumach, Berlin 1956, pp. 334 ff.; N. Platon, "Minoikoi Thronoi", *Kr Chron* 5, 1951, pp. 385 ff.; Davaras (supra n. 3), p. 15.

[24] V. Karageorghis, *AJA* 62, 1958, Pl. 99; idem (supra n. 21), p. 13, Pl. 4; E. Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, Chicago 1964, p. 206, Fig. 36.

[25] French (supra n. 20), p. 172; S. Jakovides, *Perati* III, Athens 1969, Pls. 103, 337.

the ordinary Geometric type had possible predecessors already within the Late Mycenaean period.

There is still another indication for a continuous development. This relates only to a small detail of iconography but seems of some importance, for it may be more specific than the mere shape of the throne in general. In Mycenaean times we very often find small birds sitting on the back of the divine thrones; for instance on the Tiryns gold ring and also on the Homage Krater at Paris. The presence of birds is interpreted as divine epiphany and is a common phenomenon within Bronze Age religion.[26] It lives on not only in Homer's bird-shaped deities, which have aroused a great deal of discussion,[27] but reoccurs also in later vase-paintings, e.g. an Attic red-figured lekythos at Cleveland (*Fig. 6*).[28] As far as I know, there are no immediately corresponding representations of a late eighth to early seventh century date, but the motif seems to have lived on at least in the somewhat changed and abbreviated form in which we find it for the first time on a relief pithos from Tenos.[29] The main person, probably Zeus, sits on a chair, the back of which ends in a bird's head. This motif, which was to be repeated again and again in Archaic vase paintings,[30] may well be derived from the Late Bronze Age bird-motif, which is usually placed on the back of the god's throne.

Another custom regarding the use of thrones may be adduced in support of our suggestion that a Mycenaean tradition lived on in early Greek cult images of the enthroned type. At first sight the evidence seems slight, but it gains in significance if we recall the obviously small size of many early cult images, as can be inferred from the literary tradition as well as the vase paintings we have cited.[31] It was to confer greater dignity on these small and often rough objects that they were seated on a throne. Clearly indicated by the Mycenaean clay statuettes (as for instance the example from Cyprus in New York, *Fig. 7*), the same feature appears in representations of the Hermes of Ainos on fifth-century coins (*Fig. 8*).[32] Thus the throne was an integral part of cult images from Mycenaean times onwards. Like Mycenaean cult images which, as we have already said, lived on into historical times, Mycenaean thrones, too, will have been preserved together with the corresponding cult images.

Fig. 7. Mycenaean terracotta throne with seated figure, from Cyprus.

Fig. 8. Image of Hermes of Ainos on fifth-century coin.

[26] Cf. Nilsson (supra n. 9), pp. 330 ff., 491 f.

[27] F. Dirlmeier, *Die Vogelgestalt homerischer Götter*, Sitzungsber. Akad. Heidelberg 1967,2; H. Erbse, "Homerische Götter in Vogelgestalt", *Hermes* 108, 1980, pp. 259—274.

[28] Cf. the Laconian bowl from Olympia, E. Goette, *VII. Olympia-Bericht*, pp. 196 ff., Pl. 84 f.; C. M. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler*, Amsterdam 1972, p. 274, Nr. 101; on the lekythos from Rhode Island, cf. *CVA Providence* Fasc. 1, Pl. 19. 1 *b*. — That this motive may not have been confined to vase paintings is shown by a Mycenaean terracotta statuette from Thebes, which, according to French (supra n. 20), p. 171, n. 133 is possibly "the back of a throne with a bird on it".

[29] Relief pithos from Tinos: N. M. Kontoleon, "Die frühgriechische Reliefkunst", *ArchEph* 1969, pp. 228 ff., Pls. 52 ff.; Schefold (supra n. 17), Fig. 13.

[30] Cf. H. Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen*, Berlin 1969, p. 137; G. M. A. Richter, *Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans*, London 1966, Figs. 40, 42, 43, 46, 47, 51, 55, 57—59.

[31] Cf. Herrmann 1975 (supra n. 1), p. 42, who stresses that "unter den frühen Kultbildern trotz mancherlei Ausnahmen die ξόανα οὐ μεγάλα (Paus. II, 17.5; IX,40.2) vorgeherrscht haben werden."

[32] Vgl. P. R. Franke, M. Hirmer, *Die griechische Münze*, München 1964, Fig. 136; cf. also J. Bousquet, "Callimaque, Hérodot et le trône de l'Hermès de Samothrace", in: *Mélanges Charles Picard*, Paris 1949, I, pp. 105 ff.

Fig. 9. (*Left*) Bronze statuette from Tiryns.—Fig. 10. Bronze statuette from Olympia.

The last main type to be considered here is that of the smiting god. It is also the most problematical one. As E. Kunze has shown, at Olympia (cf. *Fig. 10*), this type replaces that with upraised arms in the late eighth century.[33] It has been stated repeatedly that this type depends on Oriental models, which are commonly regarded as representations of the Egyptian-Syrian god Reshef. Bronze statuettes of this type have come to light at many sites in Syria and Greece: here they were found at Cyprus, Lindos, Crete, Mycenae, Tiryns (*Fig. 9*), Olympia, Delphi, Delos, Dodona, Thessaly, and elsewhere.[34] Our problem, however, arises from the fact that these statuettes were imported in Mycenaean times as well as later on.[35] So it could be argued that the late eighth-century statuettes of Greek origin may be derived from the contemporary imports. Thus they would not necessarily depend on Late Bronze Age predecessors. On the other hand, the fact that their importation continued after the end of the Mycenaean period demonstrates a continued demand for them. What was the reason for this demand? Perhaps the following one: We know from the Linear B tablets that the Mycenaeans worshipped male gods, though corresponding Mycenaean representations are extremely rare as compared with female ones. To some degree the imported Reshef figurines may have balanced this deficiency. The specimens found in the sanctuary at Phylakopi[36] prove that these statuettes had a religious significance also for

[33] Kunze, *AuA* (supra n. 14), pp. 101 ff.; Herrmann, *Olympia* (supra n. 14), pp. 73 f.

[34] E. Kunze, *VIII. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Berlin 1967, p. 224, n. 25; on the distribution see Helck (supra n. 22), p. 180; J. Bouzek, "Syrian and Anatolian Bronze Age Figurines in Europe", *PPS* 38, 1972, pp. 156 ff.; J. V. Canby, 'Some Hittite Figurines in the Aegean', *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 141 ff. — Cf. also W. Burkert, "Resep-Figuren, Apollon von Amyklai und die Erfindung des Opfers auf Cypern. Zur Religionsgeschichte der 'Dunklen Jahrhunderte' ", *Grazer Beiträge* 4, 1975, pp. 51 ff., who also argues for a Bronze Age tradition.

[35] Cf. Bouzek (supra n. 34), p. 158: "The Tiryns and Mycenae figurines are supposed to be of a Late Mycenaean date but they lack reputable associations. The Delos statuette comes from a hoard which mainly contained objects of a fourteenth-thirteenth century date, whereas the Lindos piece formed part of an Early Archaic deposit. The Thermos and Patso figurines are of post-Mycenaean date." Of special interest in his statement is that "the Syrian and Hittite figurines might have inspired the Mycenaean world and certainly did influence the beginnings of the genuine Greek warrior figurines."

[36] Renfrew (supra n. 16), p. 12, Fig. 3, Pl. IV; though both statuettes were not found within the shrine itself, they were found very near it; both must originally have belonged to the sanctuary equipment; another example of a Reshef-figurine from a Mycenaean sanctuary may have been the Delos statuette.

their Mycenaean donators. And it is certainly not an accident that many of the later examples were found in Greek sanctuaries.

Though we cannot decide whether the Late Geometric statuettes of Greek origin depend exclusively on contemporary models, at least the continued demand for this type may well have arisen from a persistence of its religious meaning. This indirectly provides implicit evidence for a Mycenaean tradition to the renewed popularity of the smiting god in Early Greek plastic art. In this connection we use the expression "plastic art" deliberately to avoid saying "cult image"; for it is a second major problem, whether we can assume that actual cult images of this type still existed in Late Geometric and Early Archaic times or whether they were confined to votive objects of the minor arts. As far as I can see, there is no clear evidence for the existence of cult images representing the smiting god before the late sixth century.[37]

We add some final points regarding more general aspects of this topic. In confining the exposition of our argument to only three types of cult images, we were influenced by the need to look for conspicuous types that exhibit features suitable for comparison. This does not exclude the possibility that there may have been other reflections of Mycenaean tradition in early Greek cult images.[38] Further simpler types may have existed in Mycenaean times and survived to later periods, but since by definition they lacked particular characteristics, it would not be possible to trace their influence on later sculpture even if it was present. Less important in this connection are mere Bronze Age survivals without specific influence on Early Greek sculpture as, for instance, the Boeotian *Brett-Idole,* for which a Mycenaean tradition has been claimed.[39] They deserve little more than a bare mention as a further example of Mycenaean traditions in the field of cult objects.

Another problem of a more general character is raised by Near Eastern influences in the Late Geometric and Early Archaic periods. We encountered this problem in discussing the smiting god, but it concerns a broader iconographical spectrum, including, for instance, the types of sphinx and griffin. Both occur in Mycenaean as well as in Late Geometric art and may depend either on Late Bronze Age examples or on the contemporary Near Eastern parallels. It is true, however, that the renewal of Near Eastern influence does not necessarily exclude a persistence of Mycenaean tradition. But Bronze Age survival can be more confidently argued for features of Early Greek iconography which are hardly traceable to Near Eastern models. A case in point is the Minotaur.[40] As far as I can see, in the Late Bronze Age this is a predominantly Aegean phenomenon. So it seems likely that, in addition to the mythological tradition, there was an iconographical one linking Bronze Age and Early Archaic representations (cf. *Figs. 11, 12*). Such ex-

Fig. 11. Minotaur on Minoan seal.

Fig. 12. Minotaur in Early Archaic vase-painting.

[37] The first monumental examples seem to belong to the late sixth century, cf. Kunze, *AuA* (supra n. 14), pp. 105 ff.; also statuettes like that of Apollon Katharsios at Kaulonia or that of Poseidon at Poseidonia (cf. Franke-Hirmer, supra n. 32, Figs. 77.90) may be compared.

[38] Cf., for instance, the Cretan belt which was interpreted as a Minoan survival by Davaras (supra n. 22), p. 28, n. 127; cf. also J. and T. Raubitschek, T. Alto, "Der Kretische Gürtel", in: *Festschrift Homann-Wedeking* (supra n. 1), pp. 49 ff.; for the polos, cf. Chr. Kardara, "Problems of Hera's Cult-Image", *AJA* 64, 1960, pp. 343 ff.

[39] For these Boeotian idols, see Herrmann, *Olympia* (supra n. 1), p. 47, n. 25; Brandt (supra n. 14), pp. 53 f.; M. Krogulska, "Late Mycenaean Tradition in Boeotian Archaic Terracottas", in: *Atti e Memorie del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia*, Rome 1968, I, pp. 228 ff.

[40] Cf., for instance, the Minoan seal *CMS* XIII, no. 84, with an Archaic representation like that on a skyphos at Paris, Ch. Dugas, R. Flacelière, *Thesée*, Paris 1958, Pl. 1; cf. also K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen*, Berlin 1969, pp. 166 ff.

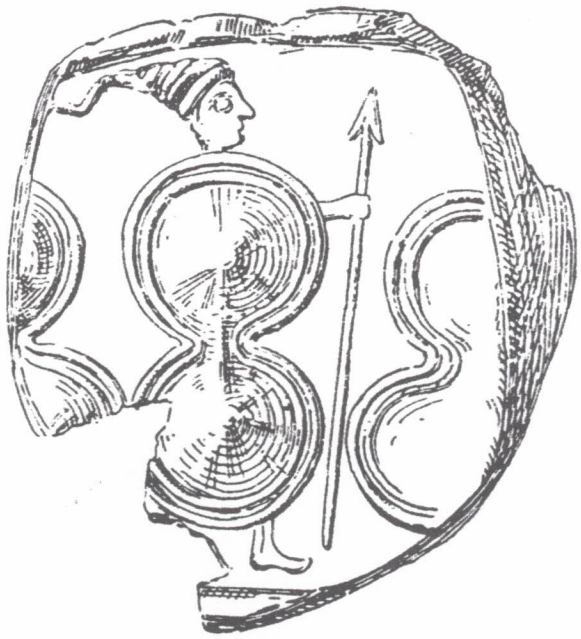

Fig. 13. Armed deity on Cretan sealing.

Fig. 14. Terracotta statuette from Cyprus.

amples strengthen our belief that Mycenaean tradition lived on to inspire Early Greek cult images. We have detected its presence in the case of the types of the smiting and the enthroned deities. In support we adduced the more specific type with upraised arms, which however died out soon after it had reappeared.

Finally we turn to a type which, unlike the deity with upraised arms, was to play an important role in Greek sculpture. This is the Palladion, i.e. the armoured female deity which usually represents Athena. A Late Bronze Age tradition is also likely for this type, which reappears in early seventh-century vase painting and small sculpture, e.g. on a Protocorinthian lekythos in Oxford or clay statuettes from Crete and Cyprus (*Fig. 14*).[41] The problem which confronts us here arises from the fact that, while we have a number of two-dimensional Late Bronze Age representations like those on the Mycenae gold ring, some sealings from Crete (*Fig. 13*) and the well known Mycenae clay tablet, we have no actual examples of Late Bronze Age statuettes of this type.[42] This is all the more embarrassing, since, for instance, the Gortyn clay statuette of Athena continues the Bronze Age tradition of wheel-shaped idols. R. V. Nicholls has shown that this kind of manufacture existed continuously through the Dark Age.[43]

It is the acknowledged lack of Bronze Age and Early Archaic Greek originals which has forced us to argue to a perhaps unacceptable degree in an indirect way. But the main obstacle to a proof of Mycenaean traditions still operative in Early Greek art remains the paucity of monumental evidence throughout the Dark Age. To an important extent the Dark Age looks like an aniconic period which, while developing a high level of ornamental arts, nevertheless rejected figural representations.

When the figural arts began to thrive again in the period which we call the Greek Renaissance of the eighth century, one of the main sources for its revival may have been what was still existent from the Mycenaean epoch. It is impossible for us to state how much had been preserved (or rediscovered when the hero

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[41] Protocorinthian aryballos: Fr. Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniennes*, 1923, Pl. 20, 1 *a* und *b*; Schefold (supra n. 17), p. 39, Fig. 10; statuette from Crete: Davaras (supra n. 3), p. 52, Nr. 4; Hampe-Simon (supra n. 17), Pl. 430. — On palladia from Cyprus (interpreted as warriors), cf. V. Karageorghis, *Cypriote Antiquities in the Pierides Collection Larnaca*, p. 136, Nr. 72; P. Stavrou, *Zypern*, Nicosia, p. 15.

[42] On the Tiryns gold-ring, cf. supra n. 20; for Cretan sealings, cf. A. Evans, *PM* III, p. 313, Fig. 205; *BSA* 60, 1965, Pl. 15, R 63; the painted stucco tablet from Mycenae: Nilsson (supra n. 26), pp. 344 f.; Hampe-Simon (supra n. 17), Pl. 77.

[43] R. V. Nicholls, "Greek Votive Statuettes and Religious Continuity, c. 1100—700 B.C.", in: *Auckland Classical Essays in Honour of E. M. Blaiklock*, ed. by B. F. Harris, Auckland/Oxford 1970, pp. 1 ff.

cult began at Mycenaean tombs). A great number of Bronze Age seals from Greek sanctuaries[44] as well as the deposit from the Artemision at Delos[45] prove that works of Mycenaean art were still existent in the seventh century. Moreover, these examples suggest that sanctuaries were the most likely places to keep these heirlooms. It goes without saying that the sacred cult images would have figured prominently among these highly appreciated relics of the Mycenaean past, and hence that this tradition should be detected in Early Greek sculpture.

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Discussion

B. C. Dietrich: I was impressed by the amount of evidence regarding the goddess with the upraised arms. E. Vermeule thinks that the Athenian examples of the 7th century are reintroductions, but that is not very sensible. We know that the figure did survive in Cyprus until the 5th or 4th century, and continuity there is clearly establishable.

W. Burkert: I would like to make three points: (1) I was very interested to see a goddess with upraised arms in a late Italiot vase painting representing an Archaic cult statue, but I think there is a problem. The drawing is not very exact and it may be reproducing another type of Archaic female cult statue such as that of Hera from Samos or Artemis of Ephesus where the arms are not upraised but horizontal. (2) I agree with you that the 'Smiting god' figurines are more likely to have survived from the Bronze Age than to be 8th century imports. Even in the Orient they belong rather to the Bronze Age than to later epochs. In addition, bronze figurines would be much better preserved than wooden ones, which would only survive if they were in a building not destroyed. (3) About the Minotaur: I am not convinced that there is not another model, namely the Cypriot figurines of priests wearing bull-masks published by V. Karageorghis.

S. Hiller: Regarding the first point, there are some very clear instances of a figurine with upraised arms even if the example you mentioned derives from another type. As to the third point, I can reply that, how are we know what has influenced what, and what came first?

W. Burkert: The Cyprus examples are clearly connected with ritual.

R. Hägg: I was stuck by the daring hypothesis that not only cult images, but thrones also survived from the Bronze Age. It is, of course, difficult to see how they could be preserved, since there is no continuity of cult buildings, but they could perhaps have been kept in the chieftain's house.

However, assuming that they did survive, they may have been decorated with inlaid material, and we would have an explanation for some of the similarities between motifs in Late Mycenaean and Late Geometric/Orientalizing art. Such thrones would have been very prestigious and conspicuously displayed, so that they could have been a source of inspiration.

S. Hiller: I cannot prove that thrones survived, but if the cult images did, which I believe, they would be placed on these thrones, so there is a probability.

J.N. Coldstream: I follow B. C. Dietrich in believing that there was continuity in the figure with upraised arms, both in Cyprus and in the Aegean. For the 9th century we have the figure in the Giamalakis shrine model, and the early Zeus figures from Olympia. For the early 8th century (MG II) there is an Argive oinochoe published in *Études argiennes* (= *BCH* Suppl. VI) by Eleni Paleologou, which shows a commanding figure, surely a goddess, with upraised arms,

S. Hiller: It is of course problematic to know what is survival and what is revival. My impression is that during the Dark Ages representations of figures with upraised arms are very rare and that they become popular again in the Late Geometric/Orientalizing period.

J. N. Coldstream: My point was that any representation of the human figure is rare in the Dark Age. So we cannot on grounds of rarity alone exclude the possibility of survival of figures represented in this pose.

H. Tzavella-Evjen: I want to make a comment on continuity in relation to sphinxes. I, personally, do not see continuity but reintroduction. Both in typology and role, Bronze Age sphinxes differ from the later ones. The prototypes for the Bronze Age ones are Syrian or Egyptian, for the Greek ones Assyrian. The role undergoes a transformation too. In the earlier part of the Bronze Age they are purely decorative but in Late Mycenaean times they are consistently associated with death, like on the Tanagra sarcophagi.

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[44] J. Sakellarakis, "Kretisch-mykenische Siegel in griechischen Heiligtümern", in: *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern*, ed. by U. Jantzen, Tübingen 1976, pp. 283 ff.

[45] J. Tréheux, H. Gallet de Santerre, "Dépôt égéen et géométrique de l'Artémision à Délos", *BCH* 71/72, 1947/48, pp. 148 ff., 247: "Le dépôt a été constitué à la fin de la période géométrique, vers le VIIIe siècle, peut-on-dire, et sans doute dans la seconde moitié de ce siècle. . .". Cf. also Vermeule (supra n. 24), p. 288, who states that the Mycenaean objects "must have been relaid as a foundation deposit when the Artemision was built on its predecessor's site, for it included Geometric and Orientalizing elements as well as Mycenaean."

Reflections on the Development of Altars in the Eighth Century B.C.

by
David W. Rupp

The dramatic increase in sanctuaries throughout the Greek world in the eighth century, continuing a trend begun in the ninth century, is now well documented.[1] As Prof. Snodgrass has pointed out,[2] this rise of sanctuary sites is an interrelated part of the social, political, economic, and technological changes that marked the "Greek Renaissance" of the eighth century.

The appearance of monumental freestanding temple architecture at the beginning of the century, the rich bronze votives and the numerous ceramic offerings have attracted the most scholarly scrutiny.[3] In addition, the introduction of exotic *orientalia* in the latter part of the eighth century has helped to fix our attention on these monumental or on these minute aspects of Greek sanctuaries of the period. Nonetheless, an important element in the study of eighth century Greek sanctuaries and their cults has generally been overlooked. That is, the focus of worship and sacrifice, the altar.

There is general agreement in regard to the nature and appearance of Geometric period sanctuaries. The earliest sanctuaries were small open air affairs surrounding an altar. The early Heraion on Samos is often given as an illustration of this fact.[4] In these sanctuaries, the altar preceeded the construction of any permanent structure. Here, burnt sacrifices, offerings, and liberations were made and objects were dedicated to the deity. Furthermore, Prof. Coldstream has stated[5] that the most widespread form of altar was a raised structure sometimes hewn from bedrock and more often with a stone-built exterior around an earth-filled core. With these comments in mind concerning Geometric altars, I will examine in this article the extent of our knowledge on altars and offer some reflections on their development from the tenth through seventh centuries.

Evidence for Geometric Period Altars

The most common type of evidence for sacrificial activity at Geometric and early Archaic period sanctuaries is a deposit, sometimes extensive, of ash and burnt animal bone fragments mixed with the broken remains of votive offerings in the central area of the temenos.[6] In most cases, no architectural construction is associated with such a deposit. Occasionally, the deposit may be found around an outcropping of bedrock or a crude pile of stones.[7] Such sacrificial places at a location that was considered sacred represent the earliest forms of post-Bronze Age altars in the Greek world and are by far the most common in the Geometric period.

Although ash altars usually represented only the first phase of a series of altars in the history of a particular cult,[8] they were not always replaced in the Archaic or Classical periods by a built altar. In many of the smaller minor sanctuaries, they continued to be used unaltered throughout their existence. The worship of Zeus in his weather aspect on mountaintops, which generally occurred in the eighth and seventh centuries, is an example of this.[9] There are extensive deposits from ash altars at such places as Mt. Hymet-

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[1] J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977, pp. 317—320, and A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971 [hereafter Snodgrass *DAG*], pp. 419—422.

[2] A. M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment*, London 1980, pp. 54—55.

[3] Snodgrass, *DAG*, pp. 275—286.

[4] Coldstream (supra n. 1), pp. 317, 321.

[5] Coldstream (supra n. 1), p. 321.

[6] M. Çetin Şahin, *Die Entwicklung der griechischen Monumentalaltäre*, Bonn 1972, pp. 16—35; D. W. Rupp, *The Greek Altars of the Northwestern Peloponnese, ca. 750/725 B.C. — ca. 300/275 B.C.* (diss. Bryn Mawr College), University Microfilms, Inc. Ann Arbor, Michigan No. 75—13, 940 [hereafter Rupp, *GANWP*], pp. 281—284.

[7] C. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, St. Louis 1949, pp. 87—96.

[8] A good example is the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros. See V. Lambrinudakis, *Praktika* 1976, pp. 202—209, Fig. 1 and Foldout 1.

[9] M. Langdon, *A Sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos* (= *Hesperia*, Suppl. XVI), Princeton 1976, pp. 79—81.

tos (*Fig. 1*) above Athens,[10] Mt. Oros on Aegina,[11] Mt. Arachnaion (*Fig. 2*) in the Argolid,[12] Mt. Phoukas or Apesios above Nemea,[13] and Mt. Lykaion in Arcadia[14] among many others. In only a few of these simple sanctuaries was any sort of structure built either for enclosing the sacrificial area as on Mt. Hymettos[15] (*Fig. 1*) or on which to make the sacrifices as on Mt. Oros.[16] The evidence from hero shrines suggests that this was the case as well.[17] Even as late as mid-sixth century in Attic Black-figure vase painting there are occasional depictions (*Fig. 3*) of what I interpret as ash altars.[18] Furthermore, some important cults in major sanctuaries never had their original ash altars replaced. The great ash altar of Zeus (*Fig. 4*) at Olympia[19] is the most notable example. The altar of Apollo (*Fig. 5*) in the Didymaion is another.[20]

Less frequently seen early altar types are those made of a crude heap of stones with a circular plan or an outcropping of bedrock. For the first mentioned type, the altar of Apollo Hylates at Kourion on Cyprus dating to the seventh century and the altar consisting of two concentric piles of stones in the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas (*Fig. 6*) at Epidauros[22] are examples. Some ash altars may well have begun as a suitable large rock or as a simple pile of stones and the sacrificial debris eventually obscured the original structure. In Attic Red-figured vase painting there are some more sophisticated examples (*Fig. 7 a—b*) of this long-lived altar type.[23] The use of an unworked or carved outcropping of rock is better attested at least from the Archaic and Classical periods. Examples of this type are the so-called Leokoreion (*Fig. 8*) in the northwestern angle of the Agora at Athens[24] and the round altar in the Delphinion of Paros.[25]

Altars in the Heraion at Samos

There is one major anomaly in this picture of Geometric period altars, that is, Altars I—III at the Heraion on Samos. These altars are said to date before 700 B.C. and the oldest one to the tenth century.[26] While a number of scholars have taken exception to this high chronology for the altars and the first Hekatompedon,[27] I think one can agree nonetheless that they represent the oldest Greek built altars so far known. Altar I (*Fig. 9*) (2.70 x 1.30) and Altar II (*Fig. 10*) (3.3 x 2.3 m) are simple, rectangular, and constructed with a stone outer skin or frame around an earth and rubble core.[28] The ovoid stone platform which surrounds them may have served to provide a firm surface for the sacrificants among the accumulated sacrificial debris.[29] A similar smaller construction or platform but without any associated built altar exists at Miletos in the Athena sanctuary.[30] It is dated to the Late Geometric period. Such rings of stone may have also helped to contain the sacrificial debris as in this reconstruction of the third altar at Samos[31] or as in the circular parapet around the Apollo Altar at the Didymaion.[32]

In the first half of the eighth century, possibly as late as 750 B.C., the third altar was built in conjunction with the erection of the monumental Hekatompedon I.[33] Although its dimensions are not much larger than the preceding altar (4.0 x 3.4 m), its plan

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[10] Langdon (supra n. 9), pp. 1—8.

[11] G. Welter, "Aeginetica, IX—X", *AA* 33, 1938, cols. 8—16 and A. Furtwängler, *Aegina: Das Heligtum der Aphaia* I, Munich 1906, pp. 473—474.

[12] D. W. Rupp, "The Altars of Zeus and Hera on Mt. Arachnaion in the Argeia, Greece", *JFA* 3, 1976, pp. 261—268.

[13] Rupp, *GANWP*, pp. 80—81.

[14] K. Kourouniotes, *ArchEph* 1904, cols. 153—214, Figs. 1—29 and G. E. Mylonas, "The Lykaian Altar of Zeus", in *Classical Studies in Honor of William Abbott Oldfather*, Urbana 1943, pp. 122—123.

[15] Langdon (supra n. 9), pp. 1—3, Fig. 1.

[16] The evidence for this consists of a large rectangular foundation overlain by a chapel and two battered fragments of a white marble pedimental-shaped end barrier for a monumental altar.

[17] Coldstream (supra n. 1), pp. 346—348.

[18] Munich, Staat. Antik. Mus. 1426, Beazley, *ABV* 95, 5; *ca.* 570 B.C.; Firenze, Mus. Arch. Naz. 70993, Beazley, *ABV* 95, 6; *ca.* 560/550 B.C.; London, Brit. Mus. 97.7—27.2, Beazley, *ABV* 97, 27; *ca.* 560/550 B.C.

[19] H. Schleif, "Der Zeusaltar in Olympia", *JdI* 49, 1934, pp. 139, 156, Figs. 8—9, and Yavis (supra n. 7), pp. 210—213, Figs. 53—54.

[20] Yavis (supra n. 7), pp. 208—209, and Schleif (supra n. 19), p. 148, Fig. 7.

[21] R. Scranton, *The Architecture of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion*, *TAPS* 57, pt. 5, 1967, pp. 6—8, Plans I—II.

[22] Lambrinudakis (supra n. 8), pp. 204—207, Fig. 1, and G. Touchais, *BCH* 101, 1977, p. 441, Fig. 88.

[23] Leningrad, Hermitage 431, Beazley, *ARV*² 1346, 1; *ca.* 420/400 B.C.; Vienna, Kunsthist. Mus. 1144, Beazley, *ARV*² 1188; *ca.* 420/400 B.C.; Boston, MFA 95.24, Beazley, *ARV*² 1159; *ca.* 410/400 B.C.; Catania, IAUC 9.418, G. Rizza, *ASAtene* n.s. 21—22, 1959—60, Fig. 1; *ca.* 430 B.C.

[24] T. L. Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1972", *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 360—369, Fig. 2.

[25] O. Rubensohn, *Das Delion von Paros*, Wiesbaden 1962, pp. 5—7 and Foldout 1.

[26] E. Buschor and H. Schleif, "Heraion von Samos: Der Altarplatz der Frühzeit", *AthMitt* 58, 1933, pp. 146—150 and 157—163, Figs. 1 and 10—15; Pls. L and LI; H. Walter, *Das Heraion von Samos*, Munich 1976, pp. 32—47, and E. Diehl, "Fragmente aus Samos", *AA* 79, 1964, cols. 495—498.

[27] Snodgrass, *DAG*, pp. 410—412; Coldstream (supra n. 1), pp. 317, 321, and fn. 2.

[28] Buschor and Schleif (supra n. 26), pp. 146—147, Figs. 1, 10, 13, Beil. 45 and 47.

[29] Buschor and Schleif (supra n. 26), Fig. 1; Walter (supra n. 26), Fig. 33. Snodgrass, *DAG*, p. 412, suggests that this might have been the earliest altar structure which seems doubtful.

[30] A. Mallwitz, "Die Ausgrabung beim Athena-Tempel in Milet, 1957. V. Eine Kultstätte im Athenaheiligtum", *IstMitt.* 9—10, 1959—60, pp. 79—85, Fig. 2. R. Hägg in his colloquium paper (cf. infra in this volume) has pointed out the similarity of this structure to similar ones that he found in the Barbouna necropolis at Asine. These structures may be ground altars or *escharai* for a cult of the dead.

[31] Schleif (supra n. 19), p. 145, Fig. 4 top.

[32] Schleif (supra n. 19), Fig. 7.

[33] Buschor and Schleif (supra n. 26), pp. 147—148, Figs. 1 and 13, Beil. 45 and 47.

Fig. 1. Attica, Mt. Hymettos, altar of sanctuary of Zeus. (After M. Langdon, *Hesperia, Suppl.* 16, 1976, Fig. 1.)

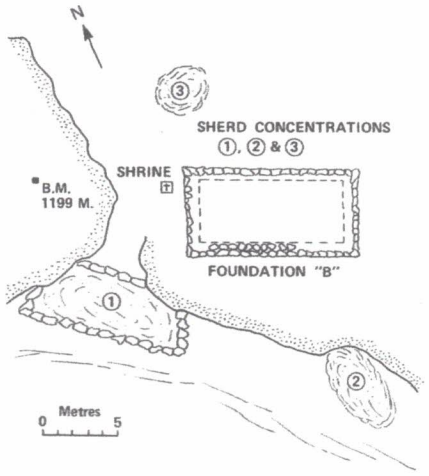

Fig. 2. Argolid, Hagios Elias peak of Mt. Arachnaion, sherd concentration 1 = altar of Zeus and Hera. (After D. Rupp, *JFA* 3, 1976, Fig. 6.)

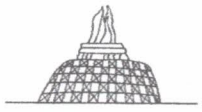

Fig. 3. London, BM, 97.7—27.2: *ABV* 97,27.

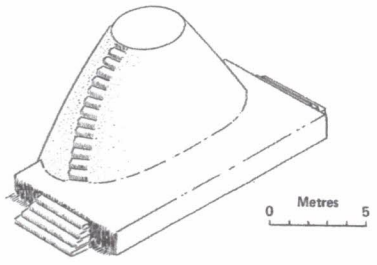

Fig. 4. Olympia, Sanctuary of Zeus, restoration of altar of Zeus according to Pausanias. (After Schleif, *JdI* 49, 1934, Fig. 8.)

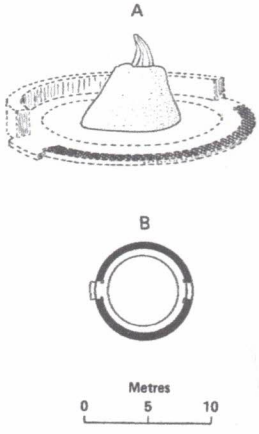

Fig. 5. Didyma, Sanctuary of Apollo, altar: A. Restoration after Kanachos relief; B. Restored ground plan. (After Schleif, *JdI* 49, 1934, Fig. 7.)

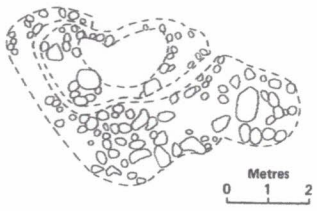

Fig. 6. Epidauros, Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, Early Archaic altar, (After Lambrinudakis, *Praktika* 1976, Fig. 1.)

represents a definite innovation (*Fig. 11*). Altar III is the archetype for a standard East Greek altar plan. That is a pi-shaped wall enclosing an elevated platform for sacrifice reached by a step or steps and later a separate altar superstructure. It is built of fine ashlar masonry. A stone votive model (*Fig. 12*) of this altar from the Heraion dating from the first part of the eighth century clearly illustrates its form and substance.[34] The fourth altar in the sequence associated with Hekatompedon I*a* is merely a rebuilding of the new plan (*Fig. 13*) on a slightly larger scale (4.9 x 3.9 m).[35] Not until Altar V in the second half of the seventh century do we see probably the first truly monumental Greek altar (*Fig. 14*) (11.5 x 4.4 m).[36]

Late Eighth Century Altars Elsewhere in the Greek World

Elsewhere in the Greek world, the next stage of altar development after the ash altar, a simple rectangular built structure, did not occur until the second half of the eighth century at the earliest. They do not appear with any degree of frequency until after the first half of the seventh century. It is important to note here that only a few built altars are known, outside of the Samian Heraion, that date to the second half of the eighth century. A peculiar feature is seen in three of these altars, that is, a central circular *bothros*. Altars that have this unusual element are the square altar (*Fig. 15*) in front of the Hekatompedos at Eretria,[37] the altar in the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Symi-Viannou on Crete[38] and the possible altar (*Fig. 16*) in front of the Temple of Hera on the citadel at Tiryns which used as its core a LH III well altar.[39] The earliest altar in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta,[40] now dated to the end of the eighth century, has a different plan (*Fig. 17*) with a long rectangular foundation of small stones. A mud-brick superstructure no doubt was erected on these foundations.

In the second half of the eighth century, the general altar type first seen in Altars I and II at the Samian Heraion with a simple rectangular plan built with an outer skin or frame of rubble or semi-worked stone around an earth and rubble core reappears. The super-structures of some of these altars may have been constructed of upright slabs or ashlar masonry, but most probably were made of mud brick. The altar immediately to the East of Temple B (Phase 2: *ca.* 700 B.C.) at Kommos on Crete[41] and the Temple of Apollo at Neandria in the Troad[42] had altars (*Fig. 18*) of this type. Altars built entirely from small semi-worked or worked stones also develop at this time. The primitive altar (*Fig. 19*) in the Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinus on Sicily is such an altar.[43] At Kalapodi in Locris in the Sanctuary of Artemis to the East of the early sixth century temples is a square foundation covered with layers of ash.[44] This may be the ash deposit from periodic cleanings of the hearth altar inside the Temple of Artemis or possibly a low altar.

Small rectangular hearth altars inside religious buildings as in the Delphinion of Dreros on Crete,[45] through not numerous, should also be mentioned at this time. It is a type which has limited distribution outside Crete and which is most frequently found in the Archaic period. However, as the recent excavations in Temple B (Phase 1) in the Iron Age sanctuary at Kommos have shown, they have their origins at least as early as the first half of the eighth century.[46]

In summary, the survey of the available evidence shows that simple ash altars, outcroppings of bedrock, or crude heaps of stone were the traditional types of altars that the Greeks of the Geometric period used to supplicate their divinities. Not until the second half of the seventh century were built stone altars constructed with any frequency. The concept of an elaborate monumental altar was not common until the first half of the sixth century. The fact that representations of altars in Greek art do not begin until the end of the seventh century at the earliest is a reflection of the line of development outlined before. The altar was not depicted before the mid-sixth century with any frequency, I think, because its initial formlessness and lack of monumentality did not make an impression on the visual consciousness of the artists.

Significance of Evidence for Altars

The time lag between the development of temple and altar architecture is significant, I think. In the well-documented expansion of religious activities in the

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[34] Walter (supra n. 26), p. 42, Fig. 34.

[35] Buschor and Schleif (supra n. 26), p. 148, Figs. 1 and 14, Beil. 45 and 47.

[36] Buschor and Schleif (supra n. 26), p. 148, Figs. 1 and 15, Beil. 45 and 47.

[37] P. Auberson, *Eretria* I, 1968, Plan I.

[38] A. Lembesi, *Praktika* 1973, pp. 188—199; 1974, pp. 222—227 and *Ergon* 1976, pp. 179—184.

[39] K. Müller, *Tiryns* III, 1930, pp. 134—139, Figs. 64—65.

[40] R. M. Dawkins, *Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, London 1929, p. 8, Figs. 2 and 4, Plan I, and J. Boardman, "Artemis Orthia and Chronology", *BSA* 58, 1963, pp. 1—7.

[41] J. W. Shaw, "Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1981", *Hesperia* 51, 1982, p. 190: altar dimensions: *ca.* 1.52 m x 2.30 m.

[42] R. Koldewey, "Neandria", *BerlWinckProg* 51, 1891, pp. 23, 28—29, Figs. 52, 55, 58—59.

[43] E. Gabrici, "Il Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte", *MonAnt* 32, 1927, cols. 144—155, Figs. 87—97.

[44] H. W. Catling, "Archaeology in Greece 1980—81", *ArchRep* 1980—81, p. 24, Fig. 40, and G. Touchais, *BCH* 104, 1980, pp. 625, 627, Fig. 92.

[45] Sp. Marinatos, "Le temple géométrique de Dréros", *BCH* 60, 1936, pp. 214—256, Pl. 31.

[46] J. W. Shaw, "Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1980', *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 238—242.

Fig. 7*a*. Catania, Mus. Arch. 9.418. (After G. Rizza, *ASAtene* N.S. 21—22, 1959—60, Fig. 1.)

Fig. 7*b*. Boston, MFA 95.24: *ARV*^{2} 1159.

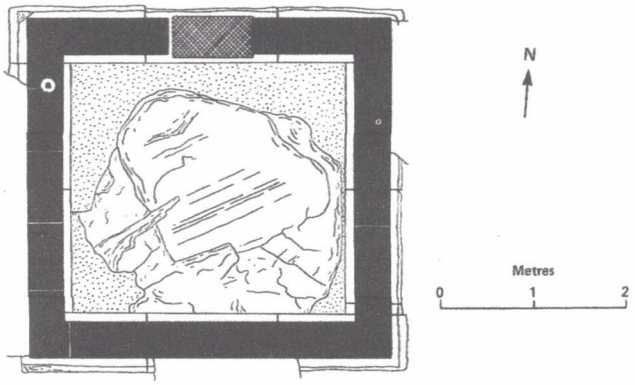

Fig. 8. Athens, Agora, rock altar and enclosure in northwestern corner. (After Shear, *Hesperia* 42, 1973, Fig. 2.)

Fig. 9. Samos, Heraion, Altar I. (Figs. 9—12 after E. Buschor and H. Schleif, *AthMitt* 58, 1933, Figs. 1—2.)

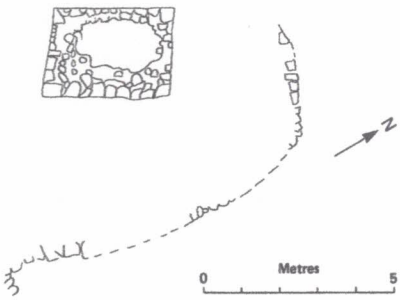

Fig. 10. Samos, Heraion, Altar II.

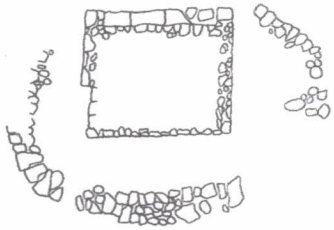

Fig. 11. Samos, Heraion, Altar III.

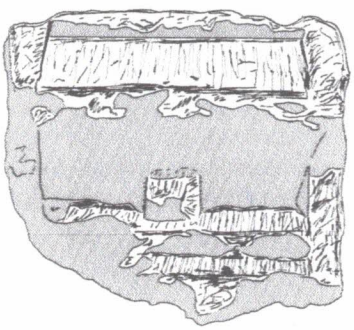

Fig. 12. Samos, Heraion, votive altar model (H. 12 cm). (After Walter, *Das Heraion von Samos,* Fig. 34.)

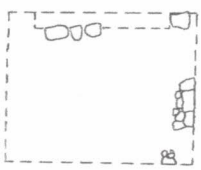

Fig. 13. Samos, Heraion, Altar IV. (Figs. 13—14 after E. Buschor and H. Schleif, *AthMitt* 58, 1933, Figs. 1—2.)

Fig. 14. Samos, Heraion, Altar V.

Fig. 15. Eretria, altar in front of temple of Apollon Daphnephoros. (After P. Auberson, *Eretria* I, Pl. I.)

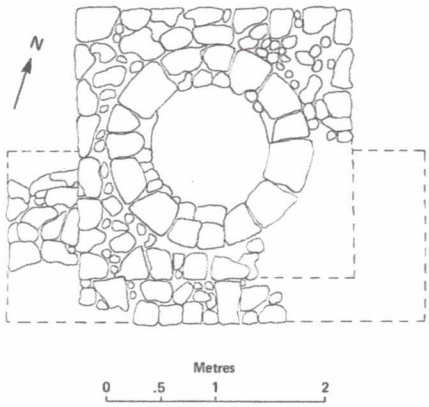

Fig. 16. Tiryns, Citadel, altar of Hera? (After Müller, *Tiryns* III, Fig. 64.)

Fig. 17. Sparta, Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, earliest altar (I). (After R.M. Dawkins, *Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia*, Pl. I.)

Fig. 18. Neandria, Temple of Apollo, altar. (After Koldewey, *BerlWinck-Prog* 51, 1891, Fig. 58.)

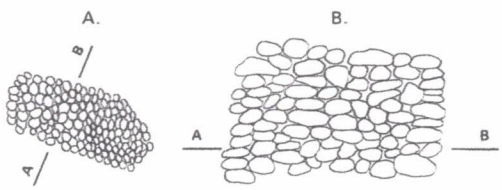

Fig. 19. Selinus, Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros, "primitive altar": A. Plan; B. Section. (Not to scale.) (After E. Gabrici, *MonAnt* 32, 1927, Plan 1 and Fig. 89.)

eighth century, the focus of this activity was on votive offerings and temple construction. During the growth of a collective political identity in the different regions of Greece, a small number of primitive communal shrines developed into the major sanctuaries of the nascent city states and received temples and votives as a tangible means of showing for all to see the cohesion, wealth and importance of the growing political body. The altar was not considered a crucial element for this ostentatious display. In major, as well as minor cults, the altar was to languish as a potential architecture form until well into the Archaic period. Many hero, minor public and private cults that existed in the Geometric and early Archaic periods never possessed anything more imposing than an ash altar, the traditional early Greek altar.

Reflections on the Origins of Greek Altars

One further reflection: The altars of the Samian Heraion stand out even more in the perspective of the altars seen elsewhere during the Geometric and early Archaic periods. What was the source or sources of inspiration for the stone-built altars there? Do they represent the archetype of all Greek built altars? Or should one look further back in time? Much has been said without wide-spread consensus on the topic of continuity of religious cults and practices from the Late Bronze Age[47] and the findings of the recent excavations in the Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros appear to lend credence to the arguments for actual continuity.[48] However, no-one to my knowledge has suggested that one of the sacrificial structures found at the citadel of Mycenae in the religious complex around the House of Tsountas dated to the LH III B2 phase,[49] is the archetype for the historic Greek altars. It has a rectangular plan with an elevated superstructure which would have resembled in basic form the historical altar. Geographically much farther afield but close in form, is the stone altar of Tukuhi-Ninurta I from Assur dated *ca.* 1250—1210 B.C.[50] If no secure continuity can be found or postulated for historic Greek altars from the Aegean Bronze Age, then can anything but independent invention be assumed for the origins of altar architecture in Geometric Greece?[51] One further puzzle: is burnt sacrifice a carryover from the Bronze Age or a reintroduction in the Geometric period from the Near East? I have no ready answers to these questions. I think that the potential relationship between Early Iron Age cult and sacrificial practices as well as altar architecture in Cyprus, the Levant, and Egypt and the early Greek cult and sacrifical practices[52] and Greek altars needs further detailed and systematic exploration.

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Discussion

B. C. Dietrich: The altars you have shown us are very different and probably reflect totally different cults. For instance, Hymettos is a Geometric site with very few Mycenaean sherds, and the cult there was of Zeus the weather-god, very little related to Bronze Age cults. But compare that with Mycenae and especially Syme, where altars seem to go back to Minoan times with votives and burned offerings very different from those of Hymettos. In Kommos, again, the influences point to the East. Thus, as far as we can tell, the types of cult practised were very different, some old and some new.

D. W. Rupp: Unfortunately the evidence from Geometric sanctuaries is scanty, but perhaps a smaller sanctuary like Kalapodi may illuminate us about cults.

R. Felsch: D. W. Rupp stated that the first built altar was found in the Heraion of Samos. The chronology of this altar and its predecessors has been changed by new stratigraphic evidence. According to some short remarks by H. Walter in *Samos* V, altar 5 was not erected before 660 B.C. Thus, the very high chronology for the underlying altars should also be lowered.

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[47] Çetin Şahin (supra n. 6), pp. 6—24, and V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages*, London 1972, pp. 278—281.

[48] Lambrinudakis and Touchais (supra n. 22) and G. Touchais, *BCH* 102, 1978, p. 672; 104, 1980, p. 603.

[49] G. Mylonas, "Contribution to the Religion of the Achaeans", in *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean"*, Nicosia 1973, pp. 101—104, Pl. 18, and Sp. Iakovidis, "The Present State of Research at the Citadel of Mycenae", *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 14, 1977, p. 126, Pl. IX.

[50] H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, Harmondsworth 1970, p. 132, Figs. 149 and 150*a—b*.

[51] As Yavis (supra n. 7), p. 87.

[52] G. V. Foster, "Animal Sacrifices in Mediterranean Cultures after the Bronze Age", paper read at 83rd general meeting of Archaeological Institute of America, San Francisco, December 1981.

Les grands sanctuaires panhelléniques

par
Claude Rolley

Il n'est pas question, en une petite demi-heure, de faire le tour des problèmes que posent les grands sanctuaires panhelléniques au long du VIIIe siècle. Je poserai donc trois questions, à propos d'Olympie, de Delphes et de Délos, qui sont les trois seuls cas pour lesquels, à ma connaissance, l'ensemble des données est accessible, dans les publications ou les réserves des musées : que s'est-il passé au VIIIe siècle? Est-ce que cela distingue ces grands sanctuaires des autres? Peut-on proposer une interprétation historique?

Le premier problème est chronologique. Si l'on admet qu'il faut tenir compte des résultats des fouilles, et d'abord des objets et fragments découverts,[1] on peut considérer comme établi le schéma général suivant, à partir des volumes récemment consacrés aux trouvailles « géométriques » d'Olympie et de Delphes, et du bref catalogue de celles de Délos.[2]

Les cultes de l'Altis commencent aux environs de 1000 av. J.-C., attestés à partir de cette date par des ex-voto qui sont, dans un premier temps, uniquement des figurines de terre cuite; il s'y juxtapose ensuite les premières statuettes de bronze; une troisième étape est marquée par l'apparition des trépieds, sans doute un peu avant la fin du Xe siècle.[3] A Delphes, dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon, où le nombre des objets, sans approcher celui d'Olympie, est très suffisant pour permettre des conclusions assurées, les ex-voto les plus anciens, statuettes de bronze et trépieds, sont contemporains d'un stade assez avancé de l'évolution que l'on peut retracer à Olympie : les premiers signes d'une activité religieuse datent, en gros, de la fin du IXe siècle. Les trouvailles de Délos sont beaucoup moins nombreuses. Mais il n'y a pas de terres cuites anciennes, et on ne peut, pour les terres cuites, invoquer une récupération pour refonte, ou l'action destructice de l'air marin, phénomènes qui expliquent la rareté des bronzes. Or il est frappant que les trépieds les plus anciens de Délos sont très exactement contemporains de ceux de Delphes. On est tenté de penser que ce n'est pas un hasard si les deux sanctuaires d'Apollon, dieu jeune, que les tablettes mycéniennes ne nomment pas, sont fondés beaucoup plus tard que celui de Zeus à Olympie.

A Délos, comme dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Delphes,[4] les premiers temples se superposent à des constructions mycéniennes, qui sont des habitats.[5] Il y a un peu plus de trois siècles de coupure entre les

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[1] C'est-à-dire que je continue à n'accorder aucune valeur aux hypothèses et aux objections des tenants d'une continuité cultuelle sur *les trois sites, continuité qui supposerait, d'abord, un culte mycénien*. Il s'agit de H.-V. Herrmann pour Olympie, G. Roux pour Delphes et H. Gallet de Santerre pour Délos : cf. *FD* V,3 (cf. n. 2), p. 134 à 142. A la bibliographie, on ajoutera : H.-V. Herrmann, « Pelops in Olympia », *ΣΤΗΛΗ* (*Mélanges N. Kontoleon*), 1978, p. 59 à 74; P. G. Warden, *AJA* 84, 1980, p. 102—103 (compte-rendu de *FD* V,3, dont il refuse a priori la chronologie « basse »; il doit constater, *ibid.*, p. 385, que c'est aussi celle de M. Maass, *OlForsch* X); G. Roux, *BCH* 103, 1979, p. 114, n. 23 (« il faut accueillir avec réticence les développements de Cl. Rolley »); mais le plus important est, bien entendu, le second volume de W.-D. Heilmeyer cité n. suivante.

[2] Olympie : W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Frühe Olympische Tonfiguren, Olympische Forschungen* VII, 1972; M. Maass, *Die geometrischen Dreifüsse von Olympia, Olympische Forschungen* X, 1978; W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Frühe Olympische Bronzefiguren, die Tierfiguren, Olympische Forschungen* XII, 1979. — Delphes : Cl. Rolley, *Les statuettes de bronze, Fouilles de Delphes* V,2, 1969; Cl. Rolley, *Les trépieds à cuve clouée, Fouilles de Delphes* V,3, 1977. — Délos : Cl. Rolley, « Bronzes géométriques et orientaux à Délos », *Etudes déliennes*, Suppl. I au *BCH*, 1973, p. 491 à 524.

[3] Voir, dans les *OlForsch*, les tableaux synthétiques *OlForsch* VII, p. 123 (repris sous une autre forme, *OlForsch* XII, p. 24), *OlForsch* X, p. 228, et l'accord de W.-D. Heilmeyer à ce dernier, *OlForsch* XII, p. 26 à 28.

[4] Le problème est différent pour le sanctuaire d'Athéna. Mais il faut rappeler que la masse d'« environ 175 figurines ou fragments de figurines différentes » (*sic*, R. Demangel, *Le sanctuaire d'Athéna Pronaia. Topographie, FD* II, 1926, p. 15, n. 2) a été regroupée dans le secteur Ouest du sanctuaire lors de l'aménagement archaïque : « ce n'est pas là qu'il faut chercher l'emplacement de la chapelle mycénienne ou géométrique » (L. Lerat, *BCH* 81, 1957, p. 710).

[5] A l'Artémision de Délos, c'est en supprimant *quatre* murs que H. Gallet de Santerre avait réussi à séparer du village mycénien la salle que surmonte le temple archaïque, pour tenter d'y voir un temple.

deux, et, dans les deux sites, nous n'avons pour cet intervalle que des traces d'habitat.[6] A Olympie, les choses sont plus claires encore : l'emplacement de l'Altis, où il y eut, près de l'Héraion, quelques maisons mésohelladiques, n'a absolument pas été fréquenté pendant la période mycénienne. Je suis persuadé que les coupes stratigraphiques de Dörpfeld ne contredisent pas l'explication la plus simple de ce fait : le Cladéos ou l' Alphée divaguaient alors à cet endroit.

Le phénomène est en tout cas du même ordre dans les trois sites. Il y a installation d'un culte en un lieu qui, jusque là, n'était pas un sanctuaire. Rappelons que la succession des ex-voto d'Olympie prouve que, dès le début du Xe siècle, on offrait des figurines aux dieux, et, depuis la fin du même siècle, des trépieds. On n'a donc pas le droit de supposer qu'un ou deux siècles de culte à Delphes et à Délos n'auraient pas laissé de trace, parce qu'on n'y aurait déposé que des offrandes « périssables ».

Le cas de Delphes est particulièrement intéressant, car il est possible de définir, et de dater à peu près, les étapes successives du développement qui en a fait un sanctuaire panhellénique. La fondation est de la fin du IXe siècle. La seconde étape est marquée par les premiers oracles relatifs aux colonies. Un article déjà ancien de Forrest[7] a montré que c'est après les premières fondations eubéennes qu' Apollon devient archégète, au moment de la fondation de Syracuse, c'est-à-dire avec les premières colonies corinthiennes. L'originalité de la fondation de Pithecoussai et de Cumes apparaît de plus en plus;[8] d'autre part, l'étude même du matériel suggère, d'un côté, une « domination » (quel qu'en soit le sens) d'Argos, puis de Sparte sur Olympie, de l'autre une fréquentation surtout corinthienne à Delphes (où elle se combine vite, à en juger encore par l'origine des ex-voto, avec des liens avec Athènes).[9] C'est donc vers 750, et par ses liens avec Corinthe, que Delphes prend de l'importance. Bien entendu, comme l'écrit Forrest, « au début il est sûrement vrai que c'est la colonisation qui a assuré le succès de Delphes, beaucoup plus que l'inverse ». Les vers 220 et 221 de l'Hymne homérique à Apollon, qui ont donné lieu récemment à des interprétations diverses,[10] ne sont-ils pas, 100 ans plus tard, un souvenir des liens d'Apollon avec Corinthe, qui a imposé le dieu comme archégète, dans un second temps, aux Eubéens eux-mêmes?

Ce pourrait être à fin du VIIIe siècle que l'on aurait, à Delphes, les premiers restes de constructions en pierre.[11] C'est vraisemblable en tout cas, d'après l'évolution générale de l'architecture; ce ne sera certain que le jour où des recherches menées depuis plus de 40 ans sur la terrasse du temple seront publiées. A ce moment, il y a 100 ans qu'Apollon est installé dans son sanctuaire.

Il y a une quatrième étape, marquée par la « Suite Pythique » de l'Hymne homérique à Apollon, quelle qu'en soit la date précise, probablement la 2e moitié du VIIe siècle. Elle est le premier témoignage écrit du rôle, et des prétentions, du sanctuaire. C'est ce qui avait conduit J. Defradas, en historien de la littérature, à nier que Delphes ait joué un rôle avant dette date.[12] Son erreur souligne un point important : c'est assez tard que Delphes met au point sa légende de fondation. J'ai même osé écrire, à l'appui de cette chronologie, que j'avais retrouvé la cargaison du bateau crétois détourné par Apollon :[13] il est tout à fait notable que nous avons à Delphes, en gros de la fin du VIIIe siècle à la fin du VIIe, des ex-voto crétois de divers types qui, Delphes mis à part, ne se retrouvent sur aucun autre site hors de Crète.[14] C'est la preuve maté-

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[6] Pour le matériel de Délos, voir H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque* (mais cf. note précédente!); les tessons géométriques mêlés au dépôt dit "mycénien" de l'Artémision sont tout à fait comparables à ceux qui proviennent de l'« habitat géométrique » : cf. *o.c.*, pl. XXVIII—XXIX, et, ci-dessous, n. 23. A Delphes, les conclusions seraient plus assurées si la fouille du village qui va de la façade du temple d'Apollon jusqu'assez loin vers l'Est était vraiment publiée; cela reste un des rares sites où il semble qu'on ait observé une totale continuité d'un habitat, de l'époque mycénienne à l'époque archaïque. Mais les grandes lignes sont claires, d'après les rapports provisoires : voir surtout L. Lerat, *BCH* 85, 1961, surtout p. 352 à 366.

[7] « Colonisation and the Rise of Delphi », *Historia* 6, 1957, p. 160 à 175.

[8] Voir les travaux récents sur la colonisation eubéenne en Occident; en dernier lieu, les Actes du 18e Convegno de Tarente, 1978, consacré aux « Eubéens en Occident ».

[9] C'est ce qui ressort du style des statuettes de bronze et, dans la mesure où on peut le déterminer, de celui des trépieds : cf. *Ol Forsch* X et XII, et *FD* V,2 et 3.

[10] Ph. Bruneau, *REG* 1976, p. XIII à XVI; *FD* V,3, p. 143, n. 2. Mais les fouilles récentes risquent de modifier très profondément l'image d'ensemble qui avait été très prématurément dressée du sanctuaire d'Apollon Daphnéphoros, sa chronologie, et ses rapports avec la « fondation » d'Erétrie : voir, par exemple, le bref résumé donné *BCH* 104, 1980, p. 656—657.

[11] Cf. R. Martin, *EPHE, IVe section, Annuaire* 1966—1967, p. 177 : « le dispositif architectural lié à l'installation d'Apollon dans son sanctuaire à la fin du VIIIe siècle »; le même, dans R. Martin et H. Metzger, *La religion grecque*, Paris 1976, p. 30 à 34, remonte l'installation d'Apollon « au début du VIIIe siècle ». Tout cela est lié (cf. déjà P. Amandry, *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes*, p. 207 à 210) à l'idée que les cultes les plus anciens, et le siège primitif de l'oracle (celui de Gâ) sont proches de Castalie, comme le suggéreraient surtout les bases de statues de Thémis et de Gâ trouvées en contre-bas de Castalie. Mais J. Bousquet, *BCH* 78, 1954, p. 430, pense que ces deux bases, qui entrent dans une série de bases faites pour être vues sur les deux côtés, étaient, en fait, sur le couronnement du péribole du sanctuaire d'Apollon, et n'auraient été apportées à Castalie que beaucoup plus tard.

[12] J. Defradas, *Les thèmes de la propagande delphique, passim.*

[13] *FD* V,3, p. 145—146.

[14] Compléments et précisions : M. Maass, *AthMitt* 92, 1977, p. 33 à 59, qui conduit à augmenter le nombre des fragments de trépieds à cuve clouée de Delphes attribuables à des ateliers crétois; L. Lerat, *BCH* 104, 1980, p. 103 à 114 : publication des deux boucliers à protomé léonine découverts en 1949, pour lesquels il repousse l'hypothèse d'une origine orientale, en concluant que, pour ces deux exemplaires, l'origine crétoise n'est pas vraiment assurée. Un nouvel exemplaire de support ajouré à quatre faces a été découvert à Cnossos : cf. P. Cartledge, *JHS* 100, 1980, p. 285.

rielle de contacts tout à fait privilégiés entre la Crète et Delphes; il reste à les expliquer, mais eux-mêmes expliquent, beaucoup plus que le vague « prestige » des « législateurs » crétois, l'origine des premiers prêtres de l'Hymne.

Pour Délos, les éléments sont beaucoup moins nombreux. La date de fondation, nous l'avons dit (mais de quel culte? Létô? Artémis? Apollon?), paraît être la même qu'à Delphes. La plupart des spécialistes datent assez tôt dans le cours du VIIe siècle la première partie, délienne, de l'Hymne à Apollon. L'« édifice Γ » est-il un temple, et géométrique, comme il est tentant de le supposer?[15] Ce serait, à Délos, le pendant des restes architecturaux les plus anciens de Delphes, et la preuve qu'Apollon a, dans l'île, précédé Artémis.

Pour Olympie, j'ai indiqué[16] comment il est possible, à mon sens, d'interpréter les fouilles de Dörpfeld dans le secteur du Pélopion. Il est important d'autre part que, dès le début, les terres cuites comportent des chars, attestant que les courses datent des origines du sanctuaire. Ce sont des biges; on sait que, d'après les textes, le quadrige ne fut introduit qu'à la 25e Olympiade. Mais ces biges sont bien des chars de course, ne serait-ce que parce que le cocher y est seul, ce qui n'est pas obligatoire pour un char de course, mais est impossible pour un char de guerre.[17] En revanche, archéologiquement, mise à part une coïncidence approximative avec un très fort accroissement du nombre des ex-voto,[18] qui, à vrai dire, se retrouverait probablement dans tous les sanctuaires existant dès ce moment, rien ne peut être mis en rapport avec la date de 776. Mais la chronologie de Delphes permet d'affirmer en tout cas que ce n'est pas un hasard, que des listes aient été conservées ou non, si c'est un peu avant le milieu du VIIIe siècle qu'on a, après coup, fixé le début du rayonnement panhellénique d'Olympie.

Quelques objets pourraient, à vrai dire, suggérer, que, dès le début du VIIIe siècle, les trois sanctuaires qui nous occupent ont reçu des visiteurs venus de loin. Kl. Kilian a récemment identifié[19] deux fragments de casques italiques (exactement, d'Étrurie du Sud), l'un à Olympie, l'autre à Delphes, et datant des environs de 800, c'est-à-dire sensiblement plus tôt que les objets italiques connus jusque-là en Grèce. Il n'en rapproche, pour cette période, qu'une fibule d'Olympie, qu'il attribue à la Calabre ou à la Sicile orientale. Une pendeloque du sanctuaire d'Athéna Pronaia, étrusque aussi,[20] n'est sans doute guère plus récente. A Délos, H. Matthäus a récemment attiré l'attention[21] sur quelques fragments de feuille d'or, qui se trouvaient dans le dépôt enseveli par les constructeurs de l'Artémision archaïque (le dépôt dit « mycénien »), en les rapprochant à la fois d'objets du XIIe siècle de la région de Pérouse et d'objets d'Europe centrale qui s'échelonnent du XIIe au VIIIe siècle. On sait que ce dépôt de l'Artémision est hétérogène, même si on s'en tient aux objets mycéniens;[22] d'autre part, dans le dépôt comme ailleurs dans l'île, on n'a rien entre l'HR III b final et une phase avancée du protogéométrique,[23] donc rien du XIIe siècle. Bref, ni la date ni l'origine, sauf qu'elle n'est pas grecque, de ces feuilles ne sont claires; il n'est pas impossible qu'on puisse les rapprocher des casques villanoviens des deux autres sanctuaires.

Les fouilles italiennes récentes de Cavallino, et surtout d'Otrante,[24] permettent de comprendre la présence de ces quelques objets. Elles ont montré que, dès le début du VIIIe siècle, des marchandises grecques arrivaient en assez grande quantité sur la côte apulienne, dans une zone où il ne s'installera pas de colonies; les récipients corinthiens d'assez grande taille, apportés pour leur contenu et non pour eux-mêmes, sont présents dès le début. Bref, 50 ans avant la fondation de Syracuse, les Corinthiens trafiquaient avec la côte Ouest de l'Adriatique. Il est alors normal que le sanctuaire de Delphes, proche de Corinthe, ait dès 800 reçu un objet rapporté d'Italie. Le casque et la fibule d'Olympie sont peut-être un peu plus étonnants, Olympie étant lié davantage à Argos d'abord,

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[15] Cf. *FD* V,3, p. 140—141. En dernier lieu, voir P. Courbin, *L'oikos des Naxiens*, *EADélos* XXXIII, 1980, p. 15—16 et 38; il évite soigneusement de se rallier explicitement à cette identification, mais la présente avec insistance comme possible.

[16] *FD* V,3, p. 139 : le premier état du Pélopion est, si on lit normalement la stratigraphie, contemporain des premières figurines ensevelies lors de son arasement, et qui sont du Xe siècle.

[17] La distinction a été bien mise en valeur par E. Kunze, *4e Olympia-Bericht*, 1944. Il juge, p. 110, les petits chars géométriques de terre cuite ou de bronze « trop modestes pour être de quelque façon que ce soit les prédécesseurs des monuments plus tardifs »; et, p. 130, il écrit que l'attelage d'où provient le grand cocher de bronze B 1700 « ne se situe pas, pour ce qui est de sa signification, à la fin de la série des ex voto « géométriques » de chars, mais il apparaît bien plutôt comme un nouveau début, comme le prédécesseur des monuments plus récents. » C'est, me semble-t-il, confondre la taille, ou le prix d'un objet, avec son sens, et oublier que le changement de taille des cochers, du VIIIe siècle au VIIe, est celui de toute la plastique grecque.

[18] Voir W.-D. Heilmeyer, *OlForsch* XII, p. 19 à 24. La courbe qu'il dresse ne concerne que les terres cuites; les chiffres concernant statuettes de bronze et trépieds donneraient apparemment des résultats voisins; mais il ne faut pas oublier que le découpage archéologique en quarts de siècles est tout au plus une commodité!

[19] Kl. Kilian, « Zwei italische Kammhelme aus Griechenland », *Etudes delphiques*, Suppl. IV au *BCH*, 1977, p. 429 à 442.

[20] R. Demangel, *Le sanctuaire d'Athéna Pronaia. Topographie*, *FD* II, 1926, fig. 61; citée par Kl. Kilian, *o.c.*

[21] H. Matthäus, « Protovillanovazeitliche Goldbleche in Délos », *MarbWinckProg* 1979, p. 3 à 12.

[22] Cf. J.-Cl. Poursat, « Ivoires de l'Artémision : Chypre et Délos », *Etudes déliennes*, Suppl. I au *BCH*, 1973, p. 415 à 425; sur la date du guerrier, voir les remarques de Cl. Baurain, *BCH* 104, 1980, p. 571 à 576.

[23] H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque*, p. 213, d'après V. R. Desborough.

[24] Voir déjà Fr. D'Andria, dans le volume collectif *Salento arcaico*, Lecce 1979, p. 15 à 25; et les Actes du 19e Convegno de Tarente, 1979.

à Sparte ensuite; les rapports d'Olympie avec la Grande-Grèce sont bien postérieurs, et surtout du VIe siècle : la céramique corinthienne d'Otrante renvoie aux îles ioniennes, non au Péloponnèse occidental. Il reste là un problème.

Ces événements, qui marquent le développement des grands sanctuaires panhelléniques, de la fin du IXe siècle au milieu du VIIIe, les distinguent-ils d'autres sanctuaires, d'intérêt plus local? Il faudrait, pour répondre à la question, que nous sachions clairement, dans chaque cas, quelles sont les premières traces d'une fréquentation d'un site au Ier millénaire, et si ces traces sont bien de nature religieuse. La distinction n'est pas toujours faite, comme elle l'est, par exemple, à Tirynthe, où les tessons épars sur l'habitat ont été nettement distingués du « bothros », où les premiers vases sont des environs de 750,[25] marquant le début du culte "géométrique".

Il est assez clair pourtant, si on regarde d'un oeil critique à la fois le matériel et les comptes-rendus (la tentation « religieuse », fort compréhensible, peut être forte chez les fouilleurs), que le milieu, ou plutôt le seconde moitié du VIIIe siècle, marque souvent le véritable début du culte. On a récemment observé qu'il n'y a rien, au Ménélaion de Sparte, entre 1200 et 725;[26] dans le sanctuaire d'Apollon Maléatas, la lacune est du même ordre : le fouilleur n'a noté que quelques tessons géométriques récents,[27] et, même quand il conclut ensuite à la superposition de dépôts sacrificiels mycéniens et archaïques,[28] cela maintient une interruption du même ordre dans la fréquentation du sanctuaire, le problème étant alors, ici comme dans quelques autres cas, celui des modalités du « retour » sur le site.

Il serait intéressant, pour notre propos, de faire le tableau des sanctuaires où le culte commence avant le VIIIe siècle. Il a été partiellement dressé dans des livres récents,[29] et sera modifié ou complété : les découvertes en cours à Lefkandi montrent bien quelles surprises nous pouvons avoir. Mais il est certain qu'avant la génération des sanctuaires du géométrique récent, une autre date, en gros, du IXe siècle avancé. Parmi ces sanctuaires contemporains de Delphes et de Délos, nous pouvons citer celui d'Héra Akraia à Perachora, l'Héraion d'Argos, le sanctuaire d'Athéna Aléa à Tégée, celui d'Aphaia à Égine, où les premiers bronzes votifs, des épingles, sont de cette période.[30] Par conséquent, dans cette région de Grèce, ce qui distingue Delphes, c'est sa fortune ultérieure, et non sa date de fondation.

Nous avons, par la force des choses, beaucoup moins d'objets pour les sanctuaires qui, comme celui d'Olympie, pourraient remonter au Xe siècle. Mais, en laissant de côté la Crète, qui est, de tous les points de vue, à part, on pressent un état du Xe siècle à Samos et à l'Amycleion de Sparte; il se peut que le nouveau sanctuaire de Lefkandi s'ajoute à cette liste très brève.

Tout cela pose deux problèmes principaux : celui de l'originalité des sanctuaires géométriques par rapport aux lieux de culte mycéniens, et celui d'une rupture ou d'une continuité des uns aux autres. Sur le second point, je me permets de rappeler ce que j'indiquais, *FD* V,3 :[31] ou bien un sanctuaire s'installe sur un site qui n'était pas occupé à l'époque mycénienne, comme c'est indubitablement le cas à Olympie, ou bien la rupture entre le sanctuaire géométrique et les restes mycéniens sous-jacents est de deux ordres. Elle est, peut-être dans tous les cas, chronologique, c'est-à-dire qu'entre les derniers objets HR et les premières offrandes géométriques il y a une période, de durée variable selon la date du début du culte du Ier millénaire, pour laquelle nous n'avons rien. D'autre part, et c'est beaucoup plus important, il est certain, dans la plupart des cas, que les restes mycéniens sont des restes d'habitat : village sous l'Héraion d'Argos, le Ménélaion de Sparte, l'Artémision de Délos et le sanctuaire d'Apollon à Delphes, palais à Tirynthe, à Mycènes et sur l'Acropole d'Athènes. Pour ce dernier site, c'est d'ailleurs le seul point qui soit assuré; pourtant, ne serait-ce qu'à cause des deux fameux passages d'Homère (*Il.* II,546—551 et *Od.* VII,80) qui mentionnent, apparemment sur le même plan, la demeure d'Erechthée et le temple d'Athéna, il serait particulièrement important d'avoir toute la documentation, c'est-à-dire une publication détaillée de la totalité des fragments, de métal en particulier, qui permettraient de doser, à chaque période, le matériel d'habitat et le matériel votif : car l'Acropole d'Athènes pourrait bien être le seul cas d'un passage progressif des fonctions politiques aux fonctions religieuses. Si les allusions d'Homère reflétaient des réalités du XIIIe siècle, ce passage, achevé seulement en 510, aurait duré 700 ans! Mais où sont les plus anciens fragments de trépieds de l'Acropole, et de quand datent-ils?

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[25] En dernier lieu, U. Jantzen et autres, *Führer durch Tiryns*, p. 97—98.

[26] H. Catling, « Excavations at the Menelaion, Sparta, 1973—76 », *ArchRep* 1976—77, p. 34 : « no sign of continuity. . . an interval of nearly 500 years between the disappearence of Laconian Mycenaeans from the Menelaion hill, and the founding of the heroshrine. »

[27] *Ergon* 1976, p. 114.

[28] La construction de l'autel archaïque est du VIIe siècle : *Ergon* 1976, p. 114. Mais, au-dessous, il y a, à proprement parler, un autel mycénien, avec « les cendres des sacrifices » : *sic*, *Ergon* 1978, p. 40; en connaît-on beaucoup d'autres exemples?

[29] V. R. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages*, 1972, p. 278 sq.; J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, 1977, p. 319 sq.

[30] Cf. Coldstream, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 83; mais, *ibid.*, p. 317 : « durant le IXe siècle, à peine plus d'une douzaine de sanctuaires ont reçu des offrandes », alors que « vers 700 nous connaissons au moins 70 lieux de culte dans l'ensemble du monde grec » (livre publié en 1977).

[31] En m'appuyant sur l'article de R. Hägg, « Mykenische Kultstätten im archäologischen Material », *OpAth* 8, 1968, p. 39 à 60.

Il ne faut donc pas « surinterpréter » les rares exceptions, et il faut bien définir le problème qu'elles posent réellement, qu'il s'agisse des figurines du sanctuaire d'Athéna, à Delphes, ou de la tête réutilisée à Aghia Irini de Céos : c'est un problème de « retour » et non de « continuité », et il est probable qu'il faut rapprocher cela des dépôts votifs du VIIIe siècle dans les tombes mycéniennes.[32] Découverte fortuite de murs ou d'objets, ou retour plus ou moins conscient sur un lieu que la tradition légendaire désignait à l'attention, en déformant évidemment le sens (ce sont alors les Cyclopes qui ont construit les remparts de Mycènes), ces phénomènes, importants pour la mentalité religieuse du VIIIe siècle, n'ont rien à voir avec la religion mycénienne.

Le téménos, qui est la grande nouveauté du Ier millénaire, isole l'espace sacré de l'espace profane. Il n'y a aucun « péribole » mycénien, puisque même celui d'Eleusis, récemment encore considéré comme une exception unique, est apparemment imaginaire, et que sa destruction prochaine entraînera sans doute assez largement celle du pseudo-« megaron », ou au moins de son usage religieux, et de son isolement par rapport à l'ensemble des restes de murs mycéniens dans l'ensemble du secteur, et pas seulement à l'intérieur du télesterion pisistratide, que, faut-il le rappeler, les Mycéniens ne connaissaient pas.[33] La fouille de l'enceinte basse de Tirynthe ajoutera probablement un exemple à la très courte liste des bâtiments comportant plusieurs pièces, mais apparemment entièrement consacrés à un usage religieux; mais il restera inclus, comme celui de Céos, dans le tissu urbain, et seules les trouvailles assurent alors de la fonction du bâtiment, dans ce cas comme dans celui où le lieu de culte est une pièce, insérée dans d'autres constructions :[34] il n'y a pas de différence fondamentale entre les « chapelles » des palais, mycéniens ou minoens, et les bâtiments de Céos ou de Tirynthe; la « maison des idoles » de Mycènes se conforme parfaitement à ce schéma.

Le sanctuaire du Ier millénaire, lui, est un espace à part, portion de terrain d'où activités et bâtiments profanes sont, par définition, exclus. Que le téménos ait, ou non, un péribole dès l'origine,[35] il est isolé et délimité, et son statut le distingue de l'espace des hommes, comme le montrent obligations et interdits. C'est là un changement radical dans les rapports entre les hommes et les dieux, et la nature même des offrandes le prouve. Les images divines mycéniennes sont des peintures murales, ou des statuettes d'argile; les matières précieuses, or et ivoire en particulier, appartiennent aux princes, dans leurs palais ou dans leurs tombes. La tablette Tn 316 de Pylos, celle des sacrifices humains,[36] est l'exception qui confirme cette règle : l'offrande des objets d'or, comme celle des sacrifices humains, est liée à la situation tout à fait anormale dont ce texte nous garde l'écho. Au Ier millénaire, très vite les objets de grand prix sont réservés aux dieux : les ivoires découverts dans les tombes sont très rares, et les derniers sont du VIIIe siècle. C'est ainsi, je crois, qu'on peut expliquer un fait curieux, qu'on n'a guère noté. Les statuettes de bronze, connues en Crète, n'existaient pas, sur le continent, au IIe millénaire; elles ont été inventées, ou introduites, à Olympie au Xe siècle, avec les premiers Zeus aux bras levés, peut-être héritiers, par ce geste, des déesses mycéniennes.[37] C'est le moment de la reprise de la métallurgie du bronze, qui est alors une matière très précieuse;[38] les trépieds seront, pour cette unique raison, l'offrande de prix des sanctuaires géométriques : car il n'y a aucune autre raison d'offrir à Zeus, à Apollon ou à Athéna un objet qui sert à faire bouillir la soupe ou la viande. Or, jamais, jusqu'à la fin de l'époque classique au moins, on n'a, en Grèce propre, offert à un mort une statuette de bronze,[39] alors que les figurines de terre cuite, qui montrent les mêmes sujets, y sont nombreuses. C'est le reste d'un vieux tabou, disons du Xe siècle, qui réserve aux dieux ce que s'appropriaient autrefois les maîtres des palais.

C'est en même temps la traduction du sens dernier de ces changements. Pour les juger, il faut les rapprocher de tout ce qui subsiste d'autre part de la religion mycénienne, et que d'autres que moi ont mis en valeur ici, mieux que je ne saurais le faire : noms et personnalités des divinités, rites et mythes. Mais la continuité des dieux et de bien des aspects des cultes, on risque de l'oublier si on envisage les choses trop uniquement en « historien des religions », va de pair, entre le XIIIe siècle et le VIIIe, avec un bouleversement total de la vie économique et sociale. Les sanctuaires mycéniens sont ceux d'une société, et de groupements humains, dominés par des princes. Le téménos archaïque, isolé de l'agglomération, mais, par là, accessible, en principe, à tous au même titre, sous réserve du

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[32] Voir l'article fondamental de J. N. Coldstream, « Hero-cults in the Age of Homer », *JHS* 96, 1976, p. 8 à 17.

[33] Article de P. Darcque, dont l'auteur m'a permis de prendre connaissance avant publication; maintenant publié *BCH* 105, 1981, p. 593 à 605.

[34] Cf. l'article de R. Hägg cité n. 31, en y supprimant l'exemple d'Eleusis et les deux exemples de Délos (cf. ci-dessus, avec les notes 5, 15 et 33).

[35] Cf. B. Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos*, 1967.

[36] Incompétent dans ce domaine, je me réfère à la présentation de cette tablette par J. Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World*, p. 89 sq.

[37] Ici aussi, peut-être y a-t-il continuité d'un geste et de son sens, mais tout le reste, et d'abord le sexe de la divinité, a changé; cf. E. Kunze, *AuA* 2, 1946, p. 98 sq., et bibl. dans *8e Olympia-Bericht*, p. 213, n. 1.

[38] Cf. A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, 1971, en particulier p. 237 à 239.

[39] Un objet comportant une statuette, un miroir à pied par exemple, garde sa fonction d'objet et peut, comme tel, être déposé dans une tombe. Les exceptions à cette règle sont très rares, et ne paraissent concerner que quelques statuettes animales : les trois seuls chevaux de bronze géométriques qu'on ait trouvés en Grande-Grèce viennent de tombes (Tarente, Locres, Syracuse).

respect de règles religieuses indépendantes du statut social de chacun, est celui d'une société en évolution rapide, où le stade aristocratique n'a été qu'une étape. Les sanctuaires du Ier millénaire, et les sanctuaires panhelléniques plus clairement que les autres, reflètent ainsi un des aspects fondamentaux de la Grèce archaïque.

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Discussion

J. N. Coldstream : I was thinking about the connection of Delphi with Corinth, on the one hand, and with Eretria on the other, beginning with the foundation of the Delphic sanctuary. We have massive imports of Corinthian pottery to Delphi, while in Eretria the epithet *Daphnephoros* also points towards Delphi. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that both cities played a leading role in colonization, with Delphic encouragement. One notes also that in both cities the main urban sanctuaries are dedicated to Apollo, not to the more usual Athena.

C. Rolley : You are right. There also may be an echo of colonial rivalry between Corinth and Eretria in the *Hymn to Apollo*.

K. Kilian : In Olympia and Delphi there is no underlying Mycenaean tradition, and I accept M. Rolley's interpretation. The Mycenaean remains are habitation or necropolis areas, not sanctuaries. On the other hand, Samos has Mycenaean offerings which are just as difficult to interpret as those of Athena Pronaia at Delphi. Perhaps in Aegina there is another possible example. But at Kalapodi we now have traces of cults from the Mycenaean III C period, although there is a gap after that, that is between Late Mycenaean and Geometric. To sum up : the archaeological evidence suggests that we have Mycenaean habitation areas or sanctuaries underlying Geometric sanctuaries, but there is always a stratigraphical gap in between. On the other hand, there is no break in the realm of artistic and religious ideas with the Mycenaean past. The only explanation is that there was a change of interest and of people, which resulted in different cult practices. This hypothesis which M. Rolley proposed, fits the archaeological evidence best.

S. Hiller : I, personally, do not accept discontinuity, so I would like to ask you two questions. First, where do we have sanctuaries dating from the Dark Ages? Secondly, we have some sites which have both Mycenaean and Geometric sanctuary remains. There is a gap, of course, but does that imply complete discontinuity or merely a change of cult form? I am convinced that Zeus and Hera of the Mycenaean period correspond to those of the historical period.

C. Rolley : We must distinguish very sharply between beliefs in gods and the material form which the cult takes. Athena of historical times may be a Mycenaean goddess in origin, but that does not contradict the archaeological fact that the people of the Geometric period gave a totally new form to the cult, that is the material, architectural form of the area of worship.

Itinerant Diviners and Magicians: A Neglected Element in Cultural Contacts

by
Walter Burkert

The fear of pollution and the need for purification seem to rise remarkably at the transition from the world of Homer to the Archaic age. Even ancient commentators were struck by the fact that there is no purification for murder in either *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, though it occurs in the *Aithiopis*;[1] Homer has no Erinyes for Orestes, but Stesichorus has. Even before Stesichorus' time, the city of Athens called for purification from blood guilt, and had Epimenides from Crete perform this task. Myth makes even Apollo undergo purification for slaying Python or the Kyklopes.

Historians of religion have often drawn attention to this post-Homeric development, with pollution becoming more dangerous, infectious, and hereditary. M. P. Nilsson traced the role of Delphi in what he calls the legalistic and ritualistic movement; E. R. Dodds set the fascinating perspective of a transition from shame culture to guilt culture.[2] Notwithstanding the merits of *Geistesgeschichte*, I would suspect that this was not entirely an immanent and autonomous evolution of Greek civilization, but affected by intercultural contacts. Epimenides is said to have received his initiation in one of the Cretan cult caves. If he ever visited that of Mount Ida, he would have been face to face with the tympanon and the bronze shields of plain Oriental style, made probably by Oriental craftsmen for the cult of Idaean Zeus.[3] And there may be more to it.

The presence of Oriental craftsmen in Crete and probably in other places of the Greek and Etruscan world in the eighth and seventh centuries is assumed by many specialists today, notably by John Boardman.[4] Now Homer (*Od.* 17.383—5), enumerating craftsmen—δημιοεργοί—who wander from city to city, mentions the carpenter, the seer—μάντις—the doctor—ἰητήρ—, and the singer—ἀοιδός. Unfortunately the products of seers and doctors are much more elusive than those of smiths and potters. Still a case can be made for the presence of Orientals among them just at the Orientalizing period.

We do not know much about the practice of Greek diviners and purification priests in the style of Epimenides. But among the details we happen to know there are striking correspondences with Sumero-Akkadian incantation texts; these are extant in considerable number and add up to quite a library.[5] They may repay a closer look even from the side of a Hellenist.

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[1] T-schol, *Il.* 11,690a (ed. Erbse III, p. 261) παρ' Ὁμήρῳ οὐκ οἴδαμεν φονέα καθαιρόμενον. — *Aithiopis*, Procl. Chrestom. pp. 105 f. Allen.

[2] E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley 1951, pp. 28—63; M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Piety*, Oxford 1948, ch. I: "Religion in the Archaic Period", esp. pp. 41—47; idem, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I[3], München 1967, pp. 91 f.; 632—636; cf. L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* IV, Oxford 1907, pp. 295—306; L. Moulinier, *Le pur et l'impur dans la pensée et la sensibilité des grecs*, Paris 1952. The hypothesis of J. McK. Camp II, "A Drought in the Late Eighth Century B.C.", *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 397—411 would well account for a rise of interest in purifiers and magical healers; but it is not accepted by everyone (see A. M. Snodgrass in this volume).

[3] Testimonies for Epimenides in *FGrHist* 457; cf. Dodds (supra n. 2), pp. 141 f.; W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, Cambridge Mass. 1972, pp. 150—152. *FGrHist* 457 T 4 f explicitly refers to the Dictaean cave, whereas F 18 has Zeus sejourning in the Idaean cave. — On the tympanon and shields, see E. Kunze, *Altkretische Bronzereliefs*, Stuttgart 1931; F. Canciani, *Bronzi orientali e orientalizzanti a Creta nell' VIII e VII sec. a.C.*, Roma 1970.

[4] J. Boardman, in *Dädalische Kunst auf Kreta im 7. Jh. v. Chr.*, Hamburg 1970, pp. 14—25; idem, *BSA* 62, 1967, pp. 63—67; T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, London 1957, pp. 40 f.; A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971, pp. 339—342; M. N. van Loon, *Oude lering, nieuwe nering*, Amsterdam 1974.

[5] Listed in R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* III, Berlin 1975, pp. 85—93; a good survey in B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II, Heidelberg 1925, pp. 198—241; an instructive selection in G. R. Castellino, *Testi Sumerici e Accadici*, Torino 1977, pp. 519—726; important publications: H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion I—II*, Leipzig 1896—1901; R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, London 1903—04; E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* I, Berlin 1931; G. Meier, *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, Berlin 1937; E. Reiner, *Šurpu, A Collection of Sumerian and Accadian Incantations*, Berlin 1958.

According to Plato,[6] in his time there are still itinerant, mendicant seers, ἀγύρται καὶ μάντεις, who come to the doors of the rich and offer to make amends for an evil deed committed by a man or his ancestors; in the words of the *Phaedrus*, they help against "disease and the greatest sufferings, which manifest themselves in certain families on account of an ancient wrath" (παλαιὰ μηνίματα)—in other words, they offer cures for psychosomatic illness. This is what the Assyrian incantation priests readily do: they assume that a sick man is infested by the evil spirits of the 'house of his father', or that 'the hand of the spirit of his father or his mother has seized him', or that 'a blood guilt, unknown to him', pursues him.[7] Thus Epimenides was said to prophesy not about the future, but about the past. According to the vivid description in the Hippocratean treatise on the Sacred Disease. Greek magicians—μάγοι καὶ καθαρταὶ καὶ ἀγύρται καὶ ἀλαζόνες—try to purify the allegedly possessed person by incantations and sacrifice, and they will finally bury the refuse in the soil or pour it into the sea—this was already done in the *Iliad*—or "carry it into the mountains, where nobody will touch it or step upon it".[8] The Assyrian incantation priest will produce an effigy of 'all bad things' from dust and blood, and finally the whole thing is put into a pot and carried away to be buried in the wilderness or in the steppe under a shrub, where nobody will step on it. In Greek, such a pot is called φαρμακή.

In order to purify Orestes or the daughters of Proetus from their madness, a pig is slaughtered over their heads, so that the blood will stream over their bodies, to be cleansed afterwards. There are vase paintings illustrating the procedure for both Orestes and the Proetides;[9] i.e. it is not specific for murder, but for insanity, a special kind of illness. An Assyrian text[10] against possession by evil spirits reads: "take a suckling pig and at the head of the sick man put it, and take out its heart and above the heart of the sick man put it, sprinkle its blood on the sides of the bed and divide the pig over his limbs and spread it on the sick man; then cleanse thou that man with pure water from the Deep and wash him clean and bring near him a censer and a torch and seven loaves. . . Give the pig in his stead." A prayer follows: "May the evil Spirit, the evil Demon stand aside. . ." "The pollution was driven away by pig-slaughtering purification", καθαρμοῖς ἠλάθη χοιροκτόνοις, Orestes puts it more laconically in the text of Aeschylus (*Eum.* 283).

The concept of the substitute, puḫu, is central to this kind of Mesopotamian magic. In Greek, there is a curious substitute sacrifice in the legend of Artemis Mounichia in Athens: Artemis was demanding the sacrifice of a girl; a certain Embaros "adorned a she-goat with a garment as if she were his daughter, and he sacrificed her."[11] Compare an Akkadian incantation text, 'Substitution for a man, for Ereshkigal':[12] an 'unwedded she-goat' is sacrificed on the bed of the sick, clad in a garment, provided with shoes and a head-band, to be mourned and buried like a human being. Now the name of the priest involved at Mounichia is Βᾶρος ἢ Ἔμβαρος according to Pausanias Atticista, and *Baru* is the most common Akkadian word for 'seer'. Is this coincidence? Perhaps. Ερεσχιγαλ, though, is the one clear Mesopotamian divine name which appears in the later magical papyri,[13] the Sumerian goddess of the Underworld. Akkadian texts also bear witness to the practice of what we call *defixio*, κατάδεσις: "The image of a man was handed over to one of the dead", i.e. an image is buried in a tomb in order to disable a person.[14] The oldest Greek evidence for this practice discovered so far comes from Periclean Athens. One more detail referring to Epimenides: he had a special kind of drug, which made hunger disappear, an ἄλιμον, which he stored in a cow's hoof. Well, an Assyrian incantation priest will prepare a special food which 'keeps the dead away' just in a cow's hoof.[15]

All this may still be called coincidence, spontaneous parallels arising from a common background of popular superstition. Still the fact that we are dealing just with an 'Orientalizing period' should give us reason to pause. I do not wish to overstate the case. The most telling objects of Mesoptamian superstition, Lamaštu-representations, Pazuzu-heads, miniature cylinders with cuneiform inscriptions did not penetrate beyond Tarsus,[16] as far as I know. Still it has been suggested that the Greek demon, Lamia, re-

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[6] Pl. *Resp.* 364 b/e; *Phdr.* 244 de.

[7] Castellino (supra n. 5), p. 638; Ebeling (supra n. 5), nr. 21; Šurpu (supra n. 5), 2,5 ff.; 5,48 f.

[8] *Hippoc.* VI 362 f. Littré. — Ebeling (supra n. 5), nr. 21; 30c; Šurpu (supra n. 5), 7,54 ff.; Castellino (supra n. 5), p. 633; cf. also *PGM* 3, 380—382.

[9] Orestes: Bell-crater Louvre K 710, *AntK* 13, 1970, Pl. 30,1, see R. R. Dyer, "The evidence for Apollo purification rituals at Delphi and Athens" *JHS* 89, 1969, pp. 38—56. — Proetides: crater of Canicattini, Syracuse, G. Schneider-Hermann, *AntK* 13, 1970, pp. 59 f.; 67.

[10] Collection "Asakki marṣuti", Thompson (supra n. 5), II, pp. 16—21, Meissner (supra n. 5), II, p. 222.

[11] Pausanias Atticista ed. H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika*, Berlin 1950, ε 35; Zenobius Athous 1,8 ed. E. Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque*, Paris 1868, p. 350.

[12] Ebeling (supra n. 5), nr. 15 (cf. nr. 16).

[13] *PGM* 2, 34; 4,42; 339; 1419; 2485; 2750; 2912; 5,340; 425; 7,317; 656; 985; 13,923; 70 etc.

[14] Ebeling (supra n. 5), nr. 30 A p. 133; Castellino (supra n. 5), p. 676; Maqlû (supra n. 5), 675. — J. Trumpf, "Fluchtafel und Rachepuppe", *AthMitt* 73, 1958, pp. 94—102.

[15] Diog. Laert, 1, 114 — Ebeling (supra n. 5), nr. 30 F 35 p. 150.

[16] An incantation text from Tarsus: A. Goetze, *JAOS* 59, 1939, pp. 11—16, cf. E. Reiner, *JNES* 19, 1960, pp. 153 f.

calls Lamaštu,[17] Gello recalls the 'evil gallu';[18] and the figure of Gorgo is influenced by Lamaštu iconography. It is also easy to produce Semitic etymologies for καθαίρειν, λῦμα, and ἀρά,[19] but these are uncommonly slippery grounds; there is no linguistic method to identify loan words, and thus suspicion can seldom be transformed into certainty.

But there is one special technique of seers which clearly originated in Mesopotamia, but, spreading to the West, found its most sophisticated form in Etruria: the art of hepatoscopy, *haruspicina*. Referring to the book of C. O. Thulin on the *disciplina Etrusca*, I can be brief. The connection between Assyria and Etruria became evident as soon as the bronze liver model from Piacenza was compared with its Assyrian counterpart in the British Museum 100 years ago.[20] It may be natural to take omens when slaughtering an animal, and the liver with its changing forms may have special qualities for this. But to make an art out of this and a system, using models for demonstration, this is peculiar to the corridor leading from Mesopotamia to Etruria. There are no liver models of this type in Greece. But the few details we know about Greek and Latin terminology as to hepatoscopy have striking correspondences in Akkadian where, once more, there exist extensive corpora of liver omen texts. In Akkadian, Greek, and Latin the liver is said to have a 'head' and a 'gate'; if the 'head' is absent, the king will die, if there are two of them, there will be two rival kings. . . Some more complicated rules bring the Etruscan and Mesopotamian discipline even closer together. In the Bronze Age, liver models are found at Ugarit and Cyprus;[21] the Etruscan models date from the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.; but since the Etruscan discipline clearly was fully developed by the 6th century, the foreign influence will go back to the 7th, which is the fully Orientalizing period just for Etruria. In Homer there are just a few allusions to hepatoscopy: Leiodes, in the *Odyssey*, is a θυοσκόος, whereas Calchas, the much more famous seer, is an οἰωνοπόλος. Still Apollo, with all his Eastern connections, is closely tied to ἐμπυρομαντεία.

In fact Greek epic introduces an Eastern seer to rival Calchas, Mopsus. Mopsus is the name of a king, attested for Cilicia in the famous Karatepe inscription;[22] the variant of the name, *Moxos*, is preserved in the Lydian tradition. But it had always been clear that Mopsus belongs to his town, Mopsuestia, though Greek myth makes him a descendant of Teiresias who later moved East. Myth may easily invert history. But the motif that the representative of Cilicia is for the Greeks a μάντις with superior knowledge as against the traditional bird-watcher, Calchas, seems to fit the historical situation of the eighth century remarkably well.

More problematic is the apparently most striking testimony for the Mesopotamia-Etrurian connection: the Sumerian word for liver is ḪAR, and the corresponding sign is currently used in the omen texts. Alfred Boissier who published such texts in 1905 remarked that this ḪAR was evidently the etymology for *haruspex*.[23] Still from the standpoint of Assyriology this is difficult to believe: the ideogram ḪAR would be pronounced *kabittu* in an Assyrian text; so it is quite unclear whether a putative disciple of a wandering Eastern seer could ever hear anything resembling *har*, to produce a most strange Sumero-Latin compound *haruspex*. Still less would I try to propose Semitic etymologies for non-Greek names occurring in the range of Archaic Greek μάντεις, such as Branchus from Didyma, Rhacius from Colophon or Iamus from Olympia—though Iamus would be an especially tempting case.

Equally fascinating, but unclear, is the provenance of inspiration mantics, the most famous example of which was to be the Pythia of Delphi. The Delphi oracle starts its triumphant career towards the end of the eighth century, whereas at this very period ecstatic prophetesses are common in Assyria, especially in the cult of Ištar of Arbela.[24] But since the ecstacy of the

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[17] For Lamaštu, see D. O. Edzard in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, ed. H. W. Haussig I, Stuttgart 1965, p. 48; G. Binder in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* IX, 1973, pp. 47 f. — Lamia occurs first in Stesichorus Fr. 220 PMG; 'daughter of Belos' in Schol. Ar. *Pax* 758; see Schwenn, *RE* XII, 1924, pp. 544—546.

[18] Meissner (supra n. 5), p. 200; Gello occurs first in Sappho 178 LP.

[19] καθαίρω — Accadian *qaṭaru*, Hebrew *qṭr* 'to burn incense', 'to fumigate'. — λῦμα — Accadian *lu' 'û* 'dirty'. — ἀρά — Accadian *arāru*, Hebrew *'rr* 'to curse' (imperative *'ara OT Num.* 22,6; 23,7).

[20] C. O. Thulin, *Die etruskische Disziplin* II: *Die Haruspizin*, Göteborg 1906, with Pls. 1—3; A. Boissier, *Choix de textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne*, Genève 1905; see also A. Pfiffig, *Religio Etrusca*, Graz 1975, pp. 36—49; 115-127. πύλη e.g. Eur. *El.* 828 — *bab ekallim* W. v. Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1965 ff., p. 95 b; κεφαλή e.g. Plut. *Cim.* 18 — *reš* v. Soden, pp. 974 f.

[21] *Ugaritica* 6, 1969, pp. 91—119; *BCH* 95, 1971, pp. 384—386; *Kadmos* 11, 1972, pp. 185 f.

[22] H. Donner, W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, Wiesbaden 1966—69², nr. 26, II line 14 f.; Mukšaš in the Hittite Maduwattaš text (on its date, see J. D. Muhly, *Historia* 23, 1974, pp. 139—145): R. D. Barnett in *Cambridge Ancient History* II 2³, Cambridge 1975, pp. 363—366; Μόξος Xanthos *FGrHist* 765 F 17; a personal name *mo-qo-so* in Linear B, KN X 1497, PY Sa 774. On the myth of Mopsus, see I. Löffler, *Die Melampodie*, Meisenheim 1963, pp. 47 f.; F. Prinz, *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie*, München 1979, pp. 23—28 (who wishes to make the mythical Mopsus a purely Greek invention).

[23] A. Boissier, *Mémoires de la Société linguistique* 11, 1901, p. CXXXIX; 330; vgl. Thulin (supra n. 20), p. 3 n. 1.

[24] J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton 1955², pp. 449 f.; an Eastern provenience of the Pythia was advocated by K. Latte, "The coming of the Pythia", *HThR* 33, 1940, pp. 9—18; on the Pythia's ecstacy, see J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle*, Berkeley 1978, pp. 204—12, who would allow "enthusiasm but not an uncontrolled and irrational frenzy" (p. 211), against Dodds (supra n. 2), pp. 70—74.

Pythia remains hotly debated, I shall not dwell on the subject here.

To get back to solid facts: material evidence for the presence of seers of an Eastern type in Greece comes from foundation deposits[25] excavated at some early Greek temples. The most remarkable case is the earliest, the temple at the acropolis of Gortyn in Crete, dated by the excavators to about 800 B.C. As to parallels for this at that time remarkable construction and for the foundation offerings, the traces of which were found beside the temple, the excavators referred to the late Hittites of Cilicia,[26] the land of Mopsus. It seems that at the time when a Syrian goldsmith had established his workshop at Knossos, craftsmen and seers of similar origin found employment at Gortyn.

Perhaps the most solid pieces of Oriental superstition found so far in Archaic Greece are three Babylonian bronze figurines from the Samian Heraion, published recently.[27] These are representations of a praying man followed by a big dog. They refer, as both texts and excavations from Mesopotamia prove, to the Sumero-Babylonian healing goddess Gula, the 'great doctor', *assugalatu*. Dog sacrifice was common in her cult. Now if Babylonian votive figurines belonging to Gula were set up in the sanctuary of Samos in the first half of the seventh century, this is hardly just a trade in souvenirs. Sickness is a ubiquitous problem, and it would not require much knowledge of a foreign language to understand that such figurines were an efficient talisman. Did Greeks bring these figurines from Mesopotamia, did Assyrian merchants get to Samos? Did either of them find some similarity between Gula and Hera? There is more to it. The dog is of peculiar importance in the cult of Asclepius. Even at Epidaurus, a dog was crouching beside the golden image of the god.[28] A *lex sacra* for the cult of Asclepius from the Piraeus sanctuary, 4th century B.C.,[29] has a preliminary sacrifice 'for the dogs and the dog-leaders', κυσὶν καὶ κυνηγέταις. This also occurs in a cult parody in a comedy of Plato comicus. What this meant was rather unclear until these figurines became known: here we have the dog and the dog-leader *in effigie*, in the context of a healing god. In concrete terms, figurines of this kind must have been set up in the Asclepius sanctuary at Piraeus, and sacrifice was made to them.

On the Greek island of Anaphe, close to Thera, there was a cult of Apollon Asgelatas,[30] an epitheton which does not sound Greek. It is, however, practically identical to the title of Gula, the goddess of those dogs and dog-leaders, *Assugalatu*; and, after all, Apollon is a healing god and the father of Asclepius. It is easily assumed that once, on the occasion of a plague, a wandering specialist with Eastern connections appeared on the island and was found to be successful by sacrifices into which the name *assugalatu* was introduced. Since then they worshipped Apollon Asgelatas. At the same time we realize the force of popular etymology: the *epitheton*, in some inscriptions and in myth, turns into Aigletes, the god of the clear sky; and if just this form were attested, nobody could even suspect a foreign substrate under such lucid Greek. It is of course tempting to go one step further and to include the name Asklepios too in the bargain; after all it was Wilamowitz[31] who held that Asklepios and Asgelatas were two different forms of the same non-Greek name. Still I wish to refrain from this—what about Podaleirius?

Whatever we may think about prophecy and magical healing, its effects are there, and its importance for ancient life and experience is obvious. The evidence adduced gives strong indications of Eastern elements in this sphere, which appear in the last stages of the Homeric epic and after, i.e. towards the end of the eighth and in the seventh centuries, in the very 'Orientalizing period' of Greece. It is important at the same time to realize that seers and similar charismatic persons naturally take to an itinerant life; Bileam is called from the Euphrates to Moab,[32] Epimenides from Knossos to Athens, Thaletas from Gortyn to Sparta,[33] Etruscan *haruspices* officiate at Rome, even Empedocles is an ἀλητής.[34] Still these people have their special 'craft' and 'knowledge' not quite by themselves, they have their teachers and they leave their successors; they are organized according to a family model. The Etruscan discipline was handed down strictly from father to son within the noble families of Etruria.[35] The same is true for the Mesopotamian incantation priests: "The wise man makes his son learn this, he makes him take an oath".[36] In Greece, the art of the seer is hereditary in certain families, such as Melampodids, Iamids. The mystery priests follow suit: there are the Eumolpids and the Kerykes at Eleusis. The corresponding organization of doctors is known from the Asklepiads at Kos, from the documents within the Hippocratean collection.

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[25] In general, see R. S. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*, New Haven 1968; for Kition, Cyprus, see *BCH* 99, 1975, p. 831.

[26] G. Rizza, V. Santa Maria Scrinari, *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina*, Roma 1968, pp. 24 f.

[27] H. Kyrieleis, "Babylonische Bronzen im Heraion von Samos", *JdI* 94, 1979, pp. 32—48. On Gula and dogs, see I. Fuhr in: *Isin-Išan Bahriyat* I, Abh. München N.F. 79, 1977, pp. 135—145.

[28] Paus. 2, 27, 2.

[29] *IG* II/III² 4962 = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969, nr. 21. Plato Com. Fr. 174,16, *CAF* I, p. 648.

[30] *IG* XII 3,248 (= Sokolowski, supra n. 29, nr. 129); 249; Αἰγλάτας 260 (cf. 259), Ap. Rhod. 4,1716; on *assugalatu*, see v. Soden (supra n. 20), p. 92 b s. v. *azugallatu*.

[31] U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Isyllos von Epidauros*, Berlin 1886, p. 93.

[32] *OT Numeri* 22,5.

[33] Pratinas *TGF*4 F 9 = Plut. *Mus.* 1146bc.

[34] *Vorsokr.* 35 B 119,13.

[35] Tac. *Ann.* 11,15.

[36] Zimmern (supra n. 5), II, nr. 24, lines 19—22.

"The knowing man will show it to the knowing", an Akkadian formula reads;[37] "Sacred things are revealed to sacred men, for the profane this is not allowed before they are initiated into the mysteries of science", says the Hippocratean *Nomos*. It has also been suggested that the peculiar expression to design craftsmen as well as tribes as 'children' of their like, ζωγράφων παῖδες as Λυδῶν παῖδες, may reflect Semitic usage.[38] One may find this more, or less, convincing. At any rate there was a way of life, a social role in Archaic society that would make both local mobility and a certain diachronic stability of lore possible, and thus account for cultural contact and continuity. Martin West, in a recent book,[39] launched the thesis that in the sixth century itinerant Iranian μάγοι came to Greece, transmitting, together with their name, some elements of cosmological speculation to the Ionians. My hypothesis is that something similar had already happened 100 years before, Assyria being distinctly closer to the Mediterranean world than Persia or Afghanistan.

One might turn one's back on this stratum of base superstitions in order to enjoy the higher aspects of civilization, were it not for the fact that this was termed 'knowledge' at the archaic level; and one important phenomenon which is closely tied to magical incantations is mythology. We know from the Sumero-Akkadian texts how paradigmatic tales were introduced to make the exorcism effective. Even part of the *Atraḫasis* text could be used to make rain;[40] the epos of *Erra and the Seven Demons* was inscribed on magical tablets;[41] in a special way cosmogony could be used to facilitate childbirth and even to dispel a tooth ache.[42] It is in the field of cosmogonic myth that Greek borrowings from the East have been discussed for a long time. In the Greek world those itinerant purification priests mentioned became most prominent in what we are used to call Orphism; Plato, in the passage quoted at the start, say that these ἀγύρται καὶ μάντεις produced a host of books of Orpheus and Musaeus. Now the books of Orpheus, as far as we know, dwelt largely on cosmogony and anthropogony. Most famous and controversial is the Orphic anthropogony, man rising from the soot of the Titans, who had been burnt by Zeus after killing Dionysus.[43] This remarkable myth has its closest analogies in *Atraḫasis* and in *Enuma eliš:* a rebellious god is slain in order to create mankind, man is fashioned from clay and the god's blood, 'that there should be a ghost in the clay'.[44] If there is a connection between *Atraḫasis* or *Enuma eliš* and Orpheus, the myth will have travelled on the route indicated here. In the older form of the Orphic theogony, which now becomes known from the Derveni papyrus, there are apparently four successive kingdoms of gods, and the third is presented swallowing a phallus—evidently a survival of the Hittite Kumarbi myth; this would lead us back to the country of Mopsus. On the other hand, the much-discussed relation of Hesiod's myth of ages to Oriental parallels such as Daniel leads once more to the realm of seers and sibyls. But this is a story of its own.

Of course we have known ever since the 'Epinomis' that whatever the Greeks took over from barbarians they made better or more beautiful. At any rate, adoption through cultural contacts usually means transformation. I think we can trace such a transformation just in the case of purification by blood. L. R. Farnell, the only historian of Greek religion to discuss seriously the relation of Babylonian to Greek ritual, stressed the fact that this form of purification, with the suckling pig, is not used for murder in Babylonia, but just against disease.[45] Orestes, on the other hand, the model case for this kind of purification, is both a murderer and ridden by disease, by madness. In general, purification from murder became obligatory in order to avoid disease by which the gods would punish both individuals and the community. Now this difference between East and West evidently reflects the fact that in Mesopotamia murder had already, for more than a millennium, been the object of legal procedure, regulated in detail by a written code of laws; there was no such procedure, let alone written laws, in Early Archaic Greece. Hence the same purification ritual had to assume different functions here and there: it was restricted to private indisposition in Mesopotamia, it acquired a larger, communal function in Greece, where it had to fill a void. Thus this difference does not, as Farnell thought, argue against a connection between Babylonian and Greek purification ritual, it constitutes a model of transformation of adopted forms within a new system.

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[37] Ebeling (supra n. 5), p. 37, cf. 47; 111.

[38] O. Szemerényi, *JHS* 94, 1974, p. 157. Cf. D. Fehling, *Glotta* 58, 1980, p. 15; ζωγράφων παῖδες Pl. *Leg.* 769b; Λυδῶν παῖδες Hdt. 1,27,4.

[39] *Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient*, Oxford 1971, pp. 239—242.

[40] W. G. Lambert, A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasis, The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, Oxford 1969, pp. 27 f.

[41] E. Reinert, "Plague Amulets and House Blessings", *JNES* 19, 1960, pp. 148—155.

[42] J. van Dijk, "Une incantation accompagnant la naissance de l'homme", *Orientalia* 42, 1973, pp. 502—507; Pritchard (supra n. 24), p. 100.

[43] *Orph. Fr.* 220 Kern = Olympiodorus in Pl. *Phd.* ed. L. G. Westerink, Amsterdam 1976, pp. 41 f. The new document for Orphic theogony, the Derveni papyrus, does not mention anthropogony, but agrees with Olympiodorus as to four divine monarchies.

[44] *Atraḫasis* (supra n. 40), I. 215—7, pp. 58 f. Lambert-Millard; the reading and interpretation of 'ghost' or 'spirit' (eṭemmu) in line 217 is not accepted by W. v. Soden, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 68, 1978, pp. 80 f.

[45] R. L. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, Oxford 1911, pp. 139 f.

Discussion

J. N. Coldstream: If J. Camp is right, and if there was widespread drought accompanied by a plague around 700, that may have led to increasing concern with purification under the guidance of Eastern experts: that is, if we are right in supposing that the Greeks made no distinction between spiritual and physical pollution.

P. Courbin: I was very interested in what you said about the families of seers. I am digging a site in Syria; if it is Poseidonia, it is said to have been founded by a seer Amphilochus, who was the son of Amphiaraus. You spoke about Mopsus, and he was a friend of Amphilochus, both being seers. They founded together a town, Mallus, at the end of the Trojan war. Now the chronology of Mopsus has been pushed back two centuries earlier. I wonder if there were not two Mopsi, one from the 15th, the other from the 13th century. If so, we would have a family of seers with continuous contact with the East.

W. Burkert: I would not put too much credence on the mythological chronology of Mopsus and Amphilochus being in the generation following the Trojan war. There was much re-elaboration of myths at the time of Hesiod. Amphilochus is a clearly Greek name, and how he got associated with Mopsus is a problem; perhaps it is due to re-elaboration of myth.

S. Hiller: I was impressed by the evidence produced in your paper, but I think that the same processes that you have shown for historical times may have happened in the Bronze Age. Here are two instances. (1) One of the Late Bronze Age Hittite rulers, Muršiliš, asked that a god from Aḫḫiyavā and another one from Lazvaš (Lesbos) be brought to heal him from a sickness. (2) G. Steiner has argued in an article (*UF* 3, 1971, pp. 265 ff.) that a ritual performed by Odysseus when going to the Underworld is very similar to a Hittite ritual of the 2nd millennium B.C.

W. Burkert: I agree that there were such contacts in the Bronze Age. Greeks and Hittites had contacts in the time of Hattusa, and even the Lion Gate of Mycenae may be directly related to monuments in that city. At the same time there is also a tradition from early to late Hittite in Cilicia, which lasted down to the 8th century B.C.

General Discussion on Religion and Sanctuaries

P. Themelis: I would like to ask C. Rolley a question. You told us that bronze statuettes belong to the gods, and that none are found in graves, but I know many examples of bronze statuettes from graves. One from Kalamata, others in Boeotia and Pithekoussai in Italy. Thus the social change is not as clear as you indicated.

C. Rolley: In the West there are only three horses from Syracuse, Tarentum and Locri. In Greece there is the one from Kalamata, and I do not know about others. Statistically, however, the number is very insignificant.

J. B. Rutter to S. Hiller: In your discussion of continuity you did not mention the head of Dionysus from Keos, which was of Bronze Age date and reused in the 8th century. It is interpreted by M. E. Caskey as an *anodos*.

S. Hiller: I am not so sure that Mrs. Caskey is right about *anodos*; in that case the possibility of it being a cult image is excluded, since the two are incompatible. Regarding continuity of cult, I do not know how much Dark Age pottery has been found here. In addition, the head, which was reused as Dionysus, belonged to a female dancing figure in the 2nd millennium. Although I would not exclude the possibility of the existence of an orgiastic Dionysus cult in the 2nd millennium, in the Keos case I cannot be sure whether we have continuity or rediscovery, as regards the head. I think, however, that there was continuity in cult.

O. Murray: I would like to make an addition to D. W. Rupp's altars, which could be an important one, because in this case continuity is not possible. It is the altar of Apollo Archegetes at Naxos, in the West, which was founded by the first settlers when they arrived in Sicily. Preliminary reports suggest that it was like the Samian examples; if so, it proves the use of monumental altars at a very early stage in the Western colonial religious development.

I would also like to ask a question: D. W. Rupp emphasized the 'backwardness' of the altars in relation to temples. It seems to me that the altars found were precisely from the most primitive areas, and it may not therefore be surprising that in Samos, which is the only advanced site, we find a totally different

altar chronology. Do you think that, if we had altars from other advanced sites, Samos would still be an exception?

D. W. Rupp: I was stressing the traditional rather than backward aspect. The line of development I have suggested would not be altered even if we had evidence from advanced sites.

J. N. Coldstream: I was struck by the consistency of orientation of all the Samos altars from the second one onwards, for 400 years. This orientation was kept despite the erection of new temples which coincided with the building of a new altar. Do you see any religious significance in this consistency of orientation independent of the temples?

B. Bergquist: In the earlier phases, the Samos altars, the first ones of which pre-date the temples, were not quite eastern buth south-eastern; this orientation was dictated by the topography, the altar being situated on a small north-western to south-eastern hillock. When the Rhoikos temple was built, the ground was substantially raised and levelled; the new altar, though still situated in the same spot, was then given the same eastern orientation as the temple.

S. Hiller: I come back to tradition once again. There was a tradition that the Samian cult was imported from Argos, and in the former place there was a tree cult.

G. Michelson: I would like to ask the experts on religion if there are any early traces of the cult of the goddess Athena in Cyprus.

S. Hiller: I know of no early evidence in Cyprus until perhaps the 7th century when there is a possible palladium, usually taken to be a warrior, but I believe it is a palladium. The type of palladium closely connected with Athens is of Mycenaean origin, in my opinion, and it reappears in the Geometric period, having survived from Mycenaean times, not being re-introduced from the East. In the Bronze Age, Athena may have been an important deity not just in Athens, but in Crete also, where *Atana potnia* is referred to in the Knossos Linear B tablets. Let it be noted that the Theseus legend links Crete and Athens together.

B. C. Dietrich: The great problem with Athena is that, although the name is pre-Greek, it is very rare in the Bronze Age. In Cyprus the cult of Athena under her own name is not attested before the 6th century.

J. N. Coldstream: In Cyprus there is indeed a cult of Athena beginning in Geometric times, on the western acropolis of Idalion, excavated by the Swedish Cyprus expedition.

R. Hägg: I would like to make a short combination of the views on regional variation and continuity. Perhaps it is no accident that B. C. Dietrich based his arguments of continuity mostly on Crete, while C. Rolley based his case of discontinuity mostly on the mainland and some of the islands. Since I am convinced that Mycenaean religion was very different from Minoan, I wonder if we could have B. C. Dietrich comment on continuity on the mainland.

B. C. Dietrich: It is clear that on some sites there is continuity, for example Amyklai with Apollo's worship. I cannot see any distinctive difference in cult between the Minoans and Mycenaeans, although even Nilsson in the second edition of his *MMR* was inclined to separate the two.

J. N. Coldstream: The supreme case of discontinuity on the mainland is at Olympia, where we have no evidence of a Mycenaean cult, and where the earliest votives include many male bronze figurines. Both the maleness and the bronze are new, in relation to votives offered in Mycenaean times. I also respect C. Rolley's point that we must distinguish between continuity of belief, and continuity in religious practice, as attested by archaeological evidence.

K. Kilian: The archaeological evidence from Amyklai which B. C. Dietrich has mentioned needs discussion. The Mycenaean cult was probably devoted to a female deity, a type of *potnia*. This is suggested by the finds, female figurines and bull-head rhyta. I wonder if Amyklai is not a case where we have a Mycenaean cult first and later an establishment of Apollo Hyakinthos. Once more I stress that there is no continuity in Mycenae, Argos or Tiryns, a gap being always present between the end of the Mycenaean Age and the 8th century.

B. Bergquist: Among the altars presented by D. W. Rupp, I would like to denounce the category of "hearth-altars", suggesting that they were instead hearths for light and warmth and for the roasting of the worshippers' portions of the sacrificial meat. In my opinion the so-called hearth-altar temples, such as the buildings at Dreros, Prinias, Perachora ("Hera Limenia"), Thasos (Herakleion) and now probably Kommos, were not temples at all but sacred banqueting-houses. These buildings—rather short and wide like the Mycenaean megara—differ quite remarkably in proportions from the undisputable early temples, e.g. those on Samos and at Eretria and Thermon, which are extremely long and narrow. I see these banqueting-houses as the true descendants in form of the Mycenaean megara—perhaps also in function.

The burnt-animal sacrifice, which incidentally in my opinion was not practiced in the Bronze Age (I agree with W. Burkert that the practice was introduced from the east in the Iron Age), i.e. the rite of actually *burning*—not roasting—the deity's portion of the sacrificed animal, was performed elsewhere in the open air on some kind of temporary or permanent, natural or artificial raising, which from e.g. a simple heap of stones or an outcropping rock in the beginning in time changed into a monumental structure, as D. W. Rupp has just exposed to us.

R. Felsch: I would agree that not all hearths are altars but in my opinion there are some definite cases of hearth-altars. At Kalapodi we have an assemblage very reminiscent of the Dreros shrine, and at Kalapodi we can be sure that the hearth is an altar. We deduce it from the history of the hearth itself, because in its final phase in the fifth century B.C. it represents a real stone-heap altar with a bench associated with it. I am therefore inclined to believe that some hearths are definitely altars.

D. W. Rupp: I also believe that at Kalapodi and Kommos we have temple structures with hearth-altars inside, and a bench for the cult image. Admittedly, this set-up is of a later period but there is evidence for worship in the eighth century.

B. Bergquist: Most certainly there may turn out to exist special cases and I am following the reports from Kommos and Kalapodi with great interest. I do not want to be dogmatic to the other extreme—only dogmatic on method. Functions of structures in general but particularly the function of a temple and of an altar have to be established on well-defined criteria. Important criteria are first, of course, all the features of a structure (incl. proportions, fittings, etc.) but also those of its predecessor(s) and successor(s), as well as the features of the entire sanctuary in each phase or period, i.e. the total site history. Specific similarities with *comparanda* are essential as well as true and unbroken temple- or altar-site continuity, but *dis*similarities and/or a site *dis*continuity are equally vital as arguments against an assumed temple or altar function.

Zur Chronologie und zum Stil geometrischer Bronzen aus Kalapodi

von
Rainer C. S. Felsch

Das Heiligtum bei Kalapodi, im östlichen Hügelland der Phokis gelegen, ist kein Zentrum kultureller Innovationen sondern ein Ort, wo zählebige Traditionen und landschaftsgebundene Eigenheiten die Entwicklung der Kunst bestimmen[1]. Das Heiligtum blieb von äußeren Einflüssen weitgehend unberührt, wie schon aus der Entwicklung der geometrischen Keramik deutlich wird[2]. Auch die verhältnismäßig reichen Metallvotive sollten deshalb eine klare und ungebrochene Stilgeschichte dieser Landschaft erkennen lassen und die Möglichkeit bieten, auch stilistisch verwandte Stücke anderer Fundorte einem mittelgriechisch-phokischen Kunstkreis zuzuordnen. Der besondere Wert der Funde aus Kalapodi liegt darin begründet, daß sie in einer differenzierten und gut zu beobachtenden Schichtenfolge lagen und so detaillierte chronologische Aussagen zulassen, wie sie bislang in keinem anderen Heiligtum möglich waren[3].

Eine wesentliche Voraussetzung dafür, daß man für die Mehrzahl der Weihgaben im Heiligtum bei Kalapodi lokalen Ursprung vermuten darf, bietet der Charakter dieses Heiligtums als Ort eines ausgesprochen lokalen, phokischen Kultes[4]. Diese Vermutung wird bestärkt durch die Beobachtung, daß bestimmte Typen im Fundmaterial gehäuft vorkommen, namentlich Trachtbestandteile, die in anderen Landschaften nur selten auftreten oder gar völlig fehlen.

Gewißheit darüber, daß in der Phokis ein eigenständiges Metallhandwerk bestand, bietet vor allem der Nachweis der Werkstätten selbst. In Kalapodi sind Hinweise auf Metallverarbeitung im Heiligtum für die geometrische Zeit spärlich. Das Fragment einer männlichen Bronzefigur (*Fig. 1*), wohl eines Ringhenkelhalters, ist ein verworfener Fehlguß. Schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jhs. v. Chr. waren demnach in diesem Heiligtum Gießereiwerkstätten tätig[5]. Aus späterer Zeit besitzen wir dann eine Vielzahl von Zeugnissen ausgedehnter Metallproduktion, und zwar vor allem Schlacken von Bronze wie Eisen. Heute ist es noch nicht möglich, genaue Aussagen darüber zu machen, inwieweit die Schlacken Rückstände vom Schmelz- oder Schmiedevorgang sind, oder ob es sich um Abfälle einer Erzverhüttung handelt, wie vor allem die Eisenschlacken vermuten lassen[6]. Sie zeugen aber in jedem Fall von einer umfangreichen Metallverarbeitung im oder beim Heiligtum. Ich möchte auch die Funde von Halbfabrikaten, mehreren Rohlingen von Lanzenspitzen, als Beleg für Schmiedewerkstätten im Heiligtum werten und nicht etwa als Votive eines Schmiedes. Diese Auffassung wird durch die Ergebnisse der Grabung in Philia[7] voll bestätigt. Hingegen bedarf die These, daß eine spezifische Art von rechteckigen Reibesteinen aus Basalt, die ich nach einem Hinweis von B. Varoufakis als Erzmühlen und damit als Indiz für die Existenz eines

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[1] Zum Heiligtum: Rainer C. S. Felsch, Hermann J. Kienast, Heinz Schuler u.a., „Apollon und Artemis oder Artemis und Apollon? Bericht von den Grabungen im neu entdeckten Heiligtum bei Kalapodi, 1973—1977", *AA* 1980, 38—123; *BCH* 104, 1980, 625—27; 105, 1981, 809—812; 106, 1982, 561—563; *ArchRep* 1980—81, 23—25; 1981—82, 28—29; Rainer C. S. Felsch, „Mykenischer Kult im Heiligtum bei Kalapodi?", in *Sanctuaries and cults in the Aegean Bronze Age*, ed. R. Hägg & N. Marinatos, Stockholm 1981, 81—89.

[2] Zur geometrischen Keramik: Felsch in *AA* 1980 (oben Anm. 1), 47—54, Fig. 15—21. Die Publikation des gesamten Materials wird von A. Nitsche vorbereitet, dem ich für die Auskünfte, Hinweise und die Zeichnungen der Gefäße *Fig. 9—10* herzlich danke.

[3] Zur Stratigraphie der geometrischen Metallfunde vgl. Felsch, *AA* 1980 (oben Anm. 1), 54—63.

[4] Die Vermutung, das Heiligtum sei mit dem der Artemis Elaphebolos von Hyampolis zu identifizieren (*AA* 1980, 41—42) wird durch den Neufund eines archaischen Votivpinax mit einer Darstellung der Artemis Tauropolos bekräftigt.

[5] Zur Frage nach Werkstätten in Heiligtümern: W. D. Heilmeyer, „Gießereibetriebe in Olympia", *JdI* 84, 1969, 1—28; ders., *Frühe olympische Bronzefiguren, Die Tiervotive* (*OlForsch* XII, 1979), 52—53; U. Sinn, „Das Heiligtum der Artemis Limnatis bei Kombothekra", *AthMitt* 96, 1981, 25—71.

[6] Die Untersuchungen der Schlacken und Werkstattabfälle aus metallurgischer Sicht durch B. Varoufakis stehen noch am Anfang. Detaillierte Aussagen wären deshalb verfrüht.

[7] K. Kilian in diesem Band.

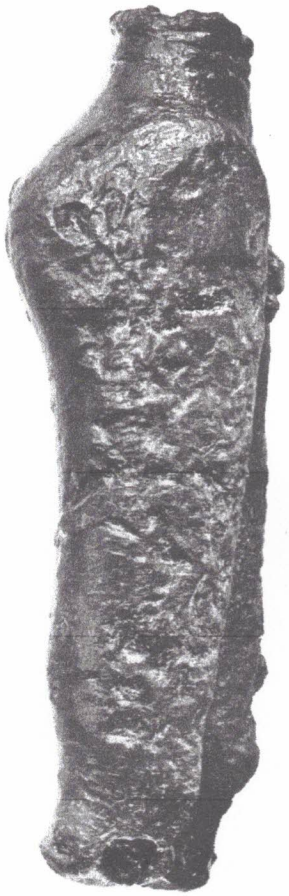


Fig 1. Fragment einer männlichen Bronzestatuette. Fehlguß. B. 1550. H. 8,55 cm. Photo DAI Athen (G. Hellner).

Verhüttungszentrums im Heiligtum angesprochen habe, wohl noch gründlicherer Forschungen. Unabhängig davon dürfen wir als gesichert annehmen, daß zumindest seit der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jhs. v. Chr. bei dem Heiligtum ein bedeutendes Zentrum phokischer Metallwerkstätten bestand.

Die Chronologie geometrischer Bronzen ist eines der umstrittensten Probleme dieser frühen Jahrhunderte, bedingt durch den Forschungsstand. Es bedurfte scharfsinniger stilistischer[8] oder typologischer[9] Analysen, um den Mangel an stratigraphischen Grundlagen auszugleichen. Das Heiligtum bei Kalapodi bietet nun zumindest für einige Votivgattungen eine detaillierte stratigraphische Grundlage.

Eine Gruppe von Votiven soll in ihrer Entwicklung aufgrund der Stratigraphie den Ausgangspunkt bilden — eine in sich geschlossene Gruppe von Fibeln, die sämtlich innerhalb der Abfolge geometrischer Tempelbauphasen auf Fußböden oder in den Füllschichten zwischen diesen Fußböden gefunden worden sind. *Fig. 2* zeigt exemplarisch die Abfolge der Fußböden im Bereich des Altares im Tempel[10]. Aus der Füllung über dem ersten Boden stammt eine Fibel, wie sie in Lefkandi in Gräbern der Stufe SPG II/III vorkommt (*Fig. 3*)[11]. Sie ist zusammen mit einer Tasse gleicher oder wenig früherer Zeitstellung gefunden worden[12]. Zwei Schichten oberhalb lag ein kleines Votivdepot, und zwar ein Scheibenanhänger mit Mittelbuckel[13] und eine Fibel, die wiederum an Typen von Lefkandi oder Skyros erinnert (*Fig. 4*)[14]. Auf dem nächstjüngeren Fußboden wurden Spuren einer Gewandweihung gefunden, deren Schmuck aus einem Paar böotischer Eisenfibeln mit nahezu quadratischer Fußplatte (*Fig. 5*), einer Brillenfibel und einem Paar von Gewandnadeln bestand. Dieser Befund zeigt deutlich, daß in dieser Landschaft Fibeln und Nadeln zusammen zur Trachtausstattung gehörten[15]. Die böotische Plattenfibel (*Fig. 5*) ist recht gut datiert. Das älteste, bekannte Beispiel stammt aus einem Grab in Korinth und wird in die Phase MG II datiert[16], während eine enge Parallele im Tumulus von

[8] W. D. Heilmeyer, *OlForsch* XII (oben Anm. 5).

[9] K. Kilian, *Fibeln in Thessalien von der mykenischen bis zur archaischen Zeit* (*PBF* XIV,2, 1975); I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Anhänger in Griechenland von der mykenischen bis zur spätgeometrischen Zeit* (*PBF* XI,2, 1979).

[10] Unterhalb des provisorischen Kultbaus *AA* 1980 (oben Anm. 1), 85—89, Fig. 67.

[11] M. R. Popham - L. H. Sackett - P. G. Themelis, *Lefkandi* I (1979—80), 240 no. P 43,7; 242 nos. S 59, 32.33.34.

[12] Abgebildet: *ArchRep* 1980—81, 24 Fig. 41.

[13] Ähnliche Anhänger scheinen in Griechenland sehr selten zu sein. I. Kilian - Dirlmeier (oben Anm. 9) nennt keine Parallele. Die wenigen Beispiele werden als Spiegel angesehen: K. Kilian, „Trachtzubehör der Eisenzeit zwischen Ägäis und Adria", *PZ* 50, 1975, 26 Taf. 23,14 (aus Anavra); 27 Taf. 24,2.5 (aus Kainourgion). Kilian schließt für das Paar aus Kainourgion eine Verwendung als Trachtzubehör nicht aus. Schon der Dekor dieser Stücke spricht gegen eine Verwendbarkeit als Spiegel. Die von Kilian 27 Anm. 165a genannten Parallelen sind durch ihre Grifform als Miniaturspiegel ausgewiesen, der Stiel der Anhänger aus Anavra und Kainourgion ist dagegen nicht als Spiegelgriff gebildet sondern entspricht dem Anhänger aus Kalapodi.

[14] E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *Fibeln der griechischen Inseln* (*PBF* XIV,4, 1978), Nr. 1182—83 aus Skyros; *Lefkandi* I (oben Anm. 11), 238—9 pl. 248, 12—15 seit der Phase LPG. Typologisch scheint die Fibel von Kalapodi eher ein Vorläufer denn eine schlichtere Variante dieses auf Mittelgriechenland, Euböa und Skyros beschränkten Typs zu sein. Genaue Entsprechungen zur Fibel *Lefkandi* I, pl. 248, 15 sind in Kalapodi mehrfach in mittelgeometrischen Schichten belegt.

[15] Zu gleichen Schlüssen kommt Kilian (oben Anm. 13), 27 mit Anm. 164.

[16] J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (1977), 86 Fig. 27e. Die älteste Fibel dieses Typs in Böotien stammt aus einem Grab in Orchomenos. Das Grab dürfte der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jhs angehören. A. Nitsche, der die geometrischen Gräber von Orchomenos publiziert, sei für den Hinweis herzlich gedankt. Die Fibel entspricht in Paukenzahl und Plattenform nahezu vollständig den Eisenfibeln aus Kalapodi.

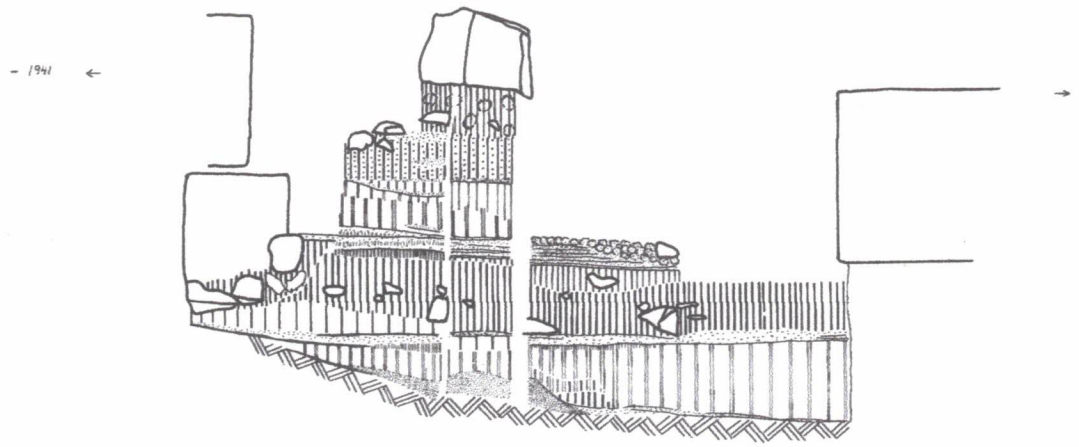


Fig 2. West — Ostschnitt im Altarbereich mit der Abfolge der Fußböden unter dem Provisorium im Tempel. Maßstab 1:20.

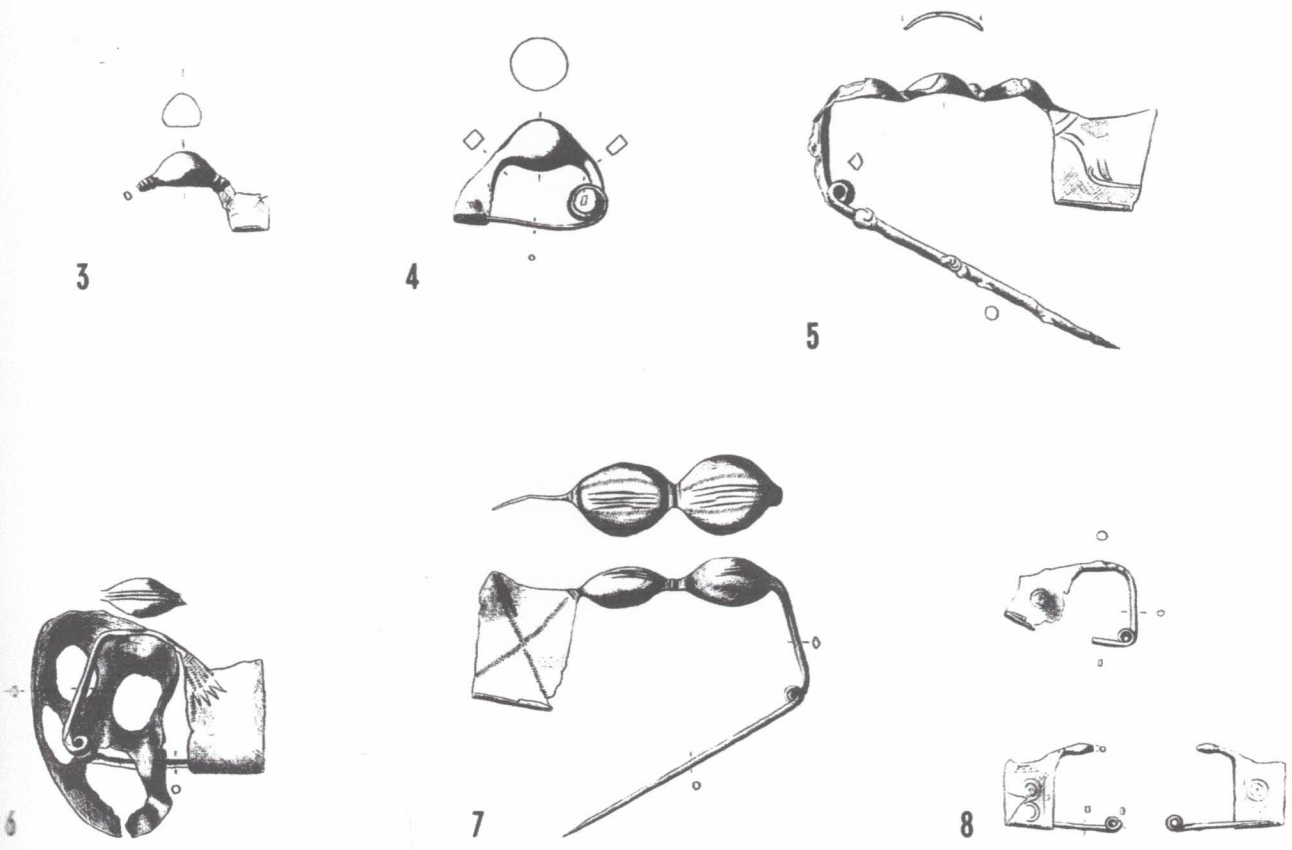
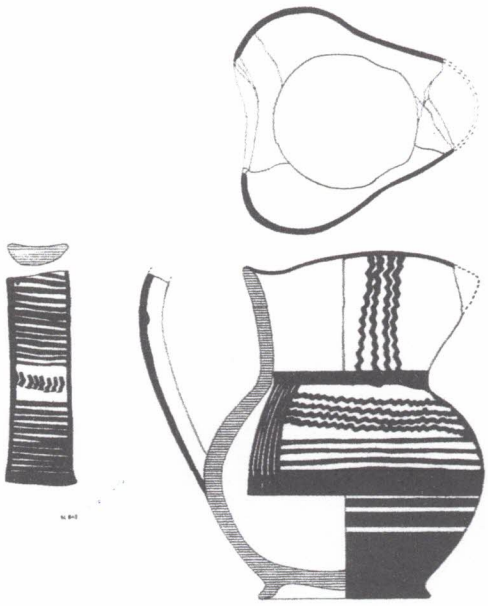


Fig. 3. Fibel B 1403. — Fig. 4. Fibel B 1125. — Fig 5. Eiserne Fibel. — Fig. 6. Radanhänger B 1619 und eiserne Fibel E 1344. — Fig. 7. Fibel B 1614. — Fig.8. Miniaturfibeln B 1548 und B 1547. Maßstab 1:2. (Zeichnungen A. Voutsina.)



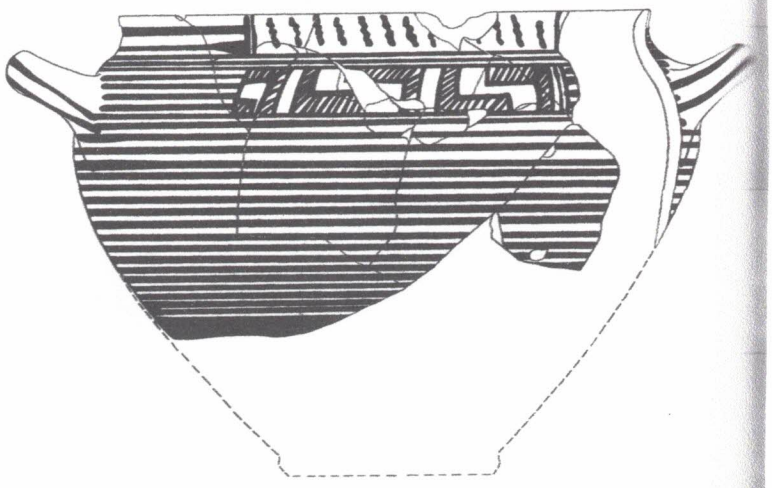


Fig. 9 (*links*). Kanne Lokaler Herkunft, K 657 und K 845. — Fig. 10 (*rechts*). Krater der Thapsos-Gattung, K 2589. Maßstab 1:3. (Zeichnungen A. Nitsche.)

Kamilovrysi gefunden worden ist[17]. Aufgrund der Form ihrer Fußplatte dürfte die Fibel in Kalapodi kaum wesentlich nach der Mitte des 8. Jhs. anzusetzen sein.

Der Fußboden mit der Gewandweihung und die darüberliegende Füllschicht wurden von zwei rechteckigen Gruben von etwa einem zu zwei Metern Größe geschnitten. Füllung und Gruben wurden durch einen weiteren Fußboden überdeckt, der einen *terminus ante quem* bietet.

Die Gruben enthielten ein Schmuckgehänge, und zwar einen Ringanhänger[18], der in eine böotische Plattenfibel aus Eisen gehängt ist (*Fig. 6*). Eine weitere böotische Plattenfibel deutlich späterer Form (*Fig. 7*) und ein Paar von Miniaturfibeln (*Fig. 8*) lagen zusammen mit weiterem Schmuck und einigen Waffen auf dem Fußboden über den Gruben. Die Gruben sind auch von ihrem Inhalt her gleichzeitig, denn unter den reichen Keramikfunden aus beiden Gruben stammen viele Scherben von ein und demselben Gefäß. Neben handgemachter Keramik enthielten die Gruben Scherben eines Fußkraters, der vielleicht aus Euböa stammt, eine fast vollständige Kanne (*Fig. 9*) lokalen Ursprungs und schließlich große Teile eines Kraters der Thapsos-Gattung (*Fig. 10*), nahezu identisch mit in Delphi gefundenen Exemplaren[19]. Der Fußboden über den Gruben wird durch das Fragment einer korinthischen Kotylenpyxis datiert (*Fig. 11*)[20], d.h. in die letzten Jahrzehnte des 8. Jhs. v. Chr. Die große Plattenfibel (*Fig. 13*) thessalischen Typs, jedoch deutlich lokalen Ursprungs[21], lag in einer Füllschicht über diesem Fußboden. Sie bietet einen terminus post quem für den ältesten Tempel in Kalapodi, der bisher ausführlicher untersucht werden konnte, einem Bau von der Wende des achten zum siebenten Jahrhundert oder den ersten Dezennien des 7. Jhs. v. Chr.

Die stratigraphische Abfolge der Fußböden bietet demnach ein dichtes Gerüst für die Entwicklung der Fibeln, die einerseits den typologischen Entwicklungsschemata entspricht, andererseits durch die Keramik zeitlich fixiert ist. Diese Stratigraphie ist insofern von Bedeutung, als in den Schichten einige figürliche geometrische Bronzen gefunden wurden, für die bisher kaum stratigraphische Anhaltspunkte vorlagen[22].

Der Unterkörper einer eigentümlichen männlichen Sitzfigur (*Fig. 12*) lag auf dem Fußboden, auf dem die Gewandweihung mit der Fibel (*Fig. 5*) gefunden wurde. Da die Figur schon zerbrochen an ihren Fundort gelangte, wird man ihre Entstehung vor dem Datum der mitgefundenen Fibel annehmen müssen. Die

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[17] Th. Spyropoulos, *Deltion* 26, 1971, Chronika, 215—217, pl. 187—188; B. Schmaltz, *Metallfiguren aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben* (1980), 41—42 Anm. 80, Taf. 24. Ich danke Th. Spyropoulos herzlich für die Erlaubnis, diese Funde zu studieren.

[18] Vgl. Kilian-Dirlmeier (oben. Anm. 9), 17—18 Nr. 56—78.

[19] L. Lerat, „Fouilles à Delphes, à l'Est du grand sanctuaire (1950—1957)", *BCH* 85, 1961, 349 Fig. 35a.

[20] Vgl. S. Benton, „Further Excavations at Aetos", *BSA* 48, 1953, 280 Fig. 9 no. 845; Coldstream, *GGP* 107 n. 3.

[21] Kilian (oben Anm. 9) hat keine genaue Parallele.

[22] Wenige Statuetten und Tierfiguren aus Füllschichten mit spätgeometrischer Keramik wurden in Delphi gefunden. Ein Urteil über die noch nicht vollständig publizierte Fundgruppe fällt vorerst schwer. Vgl. Kilian-Dirlmeier (oben Anm. 9), 130—131. Genau datiert sind die Tierfiguren aus dem Grab bei Kamilovrysi (oben Anm. 17).

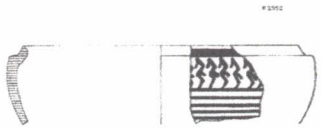

Fig. 11. Randscherbe einer protokorinthischen Kotylen-Pyxis, K 2552. Maßstab 1:3. (Zeichnung A. Nitsche.)

Sitzfigur ist demnach schon vor der Mitte des 8. Jhs. v. Chr. entstanden. Dieses ist ein bedeutender chronologischer Fixpunkt, denn die Sitzfigur kann mit einer Reihe anderer geometrischer Bronzen verglichen werden, vor allem einigen Wagenlenkern aus Olympia[23], deren Datierung bisher allein auf stilistischen Erwägungen beruht.

Auch die in Kalapodi bei weitem häufigsten Bronzefiguren, die Vögel ‚Korinthischer Art', sind in dieser Stratigraphie mit vier Exemplaren vertreten. Zwei Vögel bekrönten als Aufsatz ein Blechdiadem (*Fig. 14*)[24], wohl eher ein Kultgerät als ein Votiv. Sie lagen in der Grube zusammen mit der Thapsos-Keramik. Der dritte Vogel, ein Vogelanhänger auf Kreisscheibe (*Fig. 15*)[25], lag unmittelbar über der Grube, ebenso wie ein weiterer Vogelanhänger mit Stummelbeinen (*Fig. 16*)[26]. Dieser Befund ergänzt und differenziert die außerhalb des Tempels gewonnenen Kriterien zur Datierung der Vogelanhänger[27].

Sämtliche Vogelanhänger aus Kalapodi gehören dem Vogeltyp ‚Korinthischer Art' an, wie ihn J. Bouzek 1967 definiert hat[28], und nicht seiner ‚mittelgriechischen' Gattung[29]. Die beiden einzigen Vögel ‚mittelgriechischer Art', die in Mittelgriechenland gefunden wurden, stammen aus dem Heiligtum von Delphi und sind als Importstücke anzusehen[30].

Einen mittelgriechischen Werkstattkreis habe ich schon an anderer Stelle für die Schöpfung der ‚korinthischen' Vogelanhänger vorgeschlagen und diesen Vorschlag auf die einer Werkstatt angehörenden Vögel auf einem pyramidenförmigen Untersatz gestützt[31], eine Variante, für die unabhängig auch I. Kilian-Dirlmeier aufgrund eines Vogels aus Elateia und eines zweiten aus Kalapodi lokalen Ursprung annahm[32]. Inzwischen liegen aus Kalapodi vier Exemplare dieser Variante vor und geben den straffen und prägnanten Stil einer Werkstatt zu erkennen, die in der östlichen Phokis arbeitete.

Vögel mit Stummelbeinen ohne Basis sind in Kalapodi ebenfalls mehrfach belegt, können jedoch nicht so eindeutig einem Werkstattkreis zugewiesen werden. Ihr Verbreitungsgebiet umfaßt Thessalien und Mittelgriechenland[33]. Wahrscheinlich sind Vögel wie Kalapodi Nr. B 2[34] nur aus thessalischer Formtradition zu verstehen, vielleicht auch in Thessalien entstanden, während der Vogel *Fig. 16* lokrischen Vogelanhängern näher steht[35].

Vogelanhänger auf einer vertikalen Kreisscheibe sind der einzige Typ ‚korinthischer' Vögel, der von

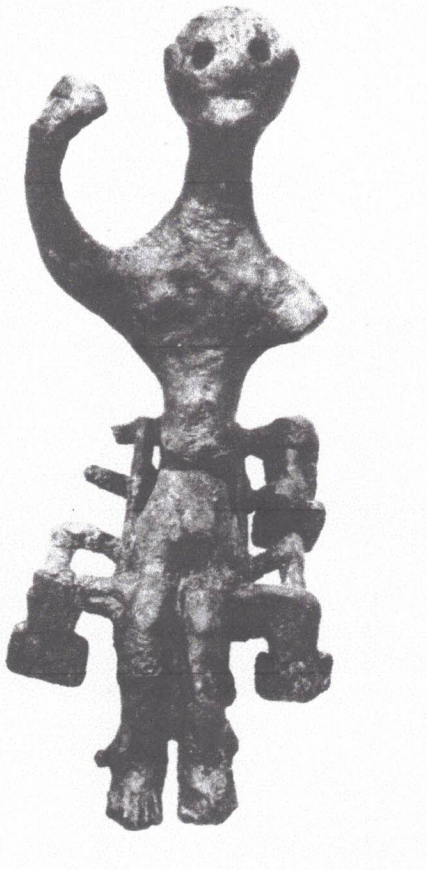

Fig. 12. Männliche Sitzfigur, B 710 (Oberkörper) und B 755 (Unterleib auf Sitz). Neg. DAI Athen 78/852.

[23] Zu den Wagengespannen zuletzt W. D. Heilmeyer, „Wagenvotive", *X. OlBer* (1981), 59—71, bes. Taf. 3,3—4.

[24] Ähnliche Vögel aus Olympia: I. Kilian-Dirlmeier in: *OlForsch* XIII (1981), 376 Anm. 761.762, Nach der Beschreibung dürften sie ebenfalls von Diademen stammen.

[25] Kilian-Dirlmeier (oben Anm. 9), 154—158 Nr. 887—937.

[26] Kilian-Dirlmeier (oben Anm. 9), 150—153 Nr. 850—881.

[27] *AA* 1980 (oben Anm. 1), 56—58, Fig. 26—28.

[28] J. Bouzek, *Eirene* 6, 1967, 119 Fig. 2.

[29] Bouzek (oben Anm. 28), 119—120.

[30] Kilian-Dirlmeier (oben Anm. 9), 173 Nr. 1042; 181 Nr. 1097.

[31] *AA* 1980 (oben Anm. 1), 57; Fig. 27 und Fig. 28 dort versehentlich vertauscht.

[32] Kilian-Dirlmeier (oben Anm. 9), 164—167, Variante 1, Nr. 964 (Elateia), Nr. 965 (Kalapodi = *AA* 1980, 57 Fig. 27, Vogel auf pyramidenförmiger Basis B 1).

[33] Kilian-Dirlmeier (oben Anm. 9), 150—153 Nr. 850—881, Taf. 104A (Verbreitungskarte). Der Vogel Nr. 882 mit Füßen aus Ithaka gehört wohl nicht in diese Gruppe.

[34] R. C. S. Felsch - H. J. Kienast, „Ein Heiligtum in Phokis", *AAA* 8, 1975, 13 Fig. 21.

[35] Vgl. Kilian (oben Anm. 13), 26—27 Taf. 23,13 (Anavra); Taf. 24,3 (Kainourgion).

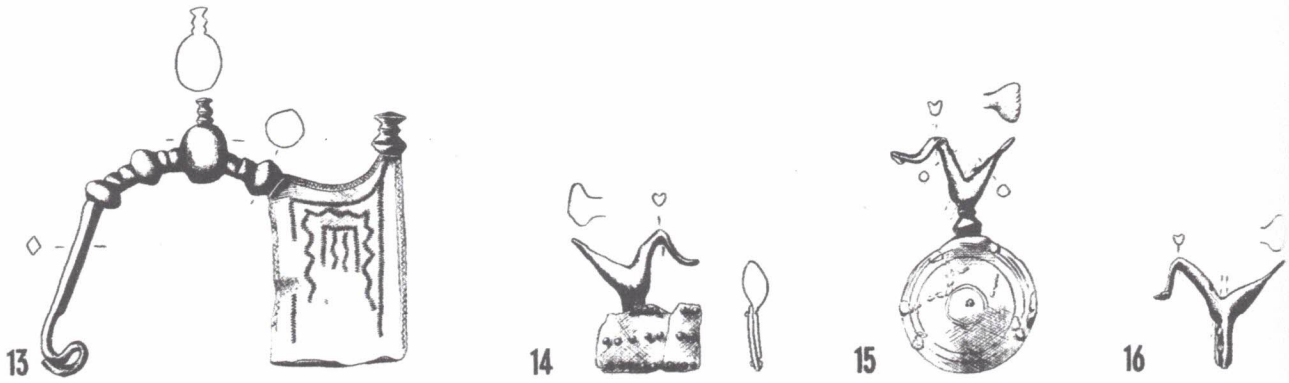

Fig. 13. Plattenfibel B 1521. — Fig. 14. Blechdiadem mit Vogelaufsatz, B 1150. — Fig. 15. Vogelanhänger auf Kreisscheibe, B 1615. — Fig. 16. Vogelanhänger B 1549. Maßstab 1:2. (Zeichnungen A. Voutsina.)

Thessalien bis auf die Peloponnes weit verbreitet ist[36]. Dieser Typ ist in Thessalien in Heiligtümern, in Mittelgriechenland sowohl in Heiligtümern — wobei mindestens sechs Exemplare aus Kalapodi stammen — als auch in Gräbern bezeugt, auf der Peloponnes wiederum nur aus Heiligtümern.

Nach der Fundstatistik liegt der Schwerpunkt in Mittelgriechenland und Thessalien, wobei unter den thessalischen Funden zwischen ‚korinthischen' Vögeln und ihren Nachahmungen zu unterscheiden ist[37]. In Mittelgriechenland ist ausschließlich die ‚korinthische' Variante vertreten und zugleich als Bestandteil der Lokaltracht erwiesen[38]. Wiederum liegt es nahe, die ‚korinthische' Variante, d.h. die knapp, präzise und elegant ausgeführten Stücke als Erzeugnisse mittelgriechischer Werkstätten anzusprechen.

Es erübrigt sich vielleicht, darauf hinzuweisen, daß in Korinth selbst oder ausschließlich korinthisch beeinflußten Heiligtümern Vogelanhänger ‚korinthischer Art' nicht gefunden wurden. Daß die wenigen, aber sehr qualitätvollen Vogelanhänger auf vertikaler Scheibe in der Peloponnes Importstücke aus Mittelgriechenland sein dürften, zeigt sich schließlich daran, daß eindeutig peloponnesische Vogeltypen nicht als Scheibenbekrönung vorkommen.

Aus dem Gesagten folgt, daß die ‚korinthischen' Vogelanhänger Erzeugnisse mittelgriechischer Werkstätten sind, die sich überregionaler Beliebtheit erfreuten, im Norden auch imitiert wurden. Die Vogelanhänger ‚mittelgriechischer Art' hingegen sind Mittelgriechenland fremd. Sie finden den ihnen angemessenen Platz weiter im Norden[39].

Der Lokalstil mittelgriechischer Bronzewerkstätten läßt sich für andere Tierfiguren bisher noch kaum fassen. Ein erster Ansatz ist durch den stilistischen Vergleich der Pferde aus Anavra und Kainourgion[40] mit Pferden aus Delphi gewonnen. Die wenigen Funde aus Kalapodi sind einer anderen Stilrichtung verhaftet, einige sind aber sicher lokalen Ursprungs, wie die Werkstattbeziehungen zwischen einem Pferd und einer Löwenfigur aus Kalapodi zeigen[41].

Daß die mittelgriechischen Werkstätten in der rundplastischen Gestaltung des Pferdebildes vielleicht nicht zur Schöpfung eines kanonischen Typs vorgedrungen sind, mag ein weiteres, bisher unpubliziertes Pferd aus der Fundgruppe Anavra verdeutlichen (*Fig. 17*)[42]. Die plastische Konzeption ist von der des korinthischen Pferdetyps durchaus verschieden, lediglich sein hoch emporschwingender Hals mag auf einen korinthischen Vorwurf zurückgehen. Während als charakteristisches Merkmal korinthischer Pferde die Ausdünning und Unterhöhlung der Gliedmaßen bis hin zum Blechstil anzusehen ist, bleibt das Pferd

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[36] Vgl. Anm. 27 und Kilian-Dirlmeier (oben Anm. 9), Taf. 104 B (ohne die in Kalapodi gefundenen Vögel). Ein weiterer Vogel aus Lousoi (U. Sinn, *Jahrb. d. Staatl. Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 17, 1980, 28 Fig. 4a).

[37] Kilian (oben Anm. 9), 183; Kilian-Dirlmeier (oben Anm. 9), 157—158 rechnet mit mehreren, vielleicht lokal zu differenzierenden Werkstätten.

[38] Sieben Beispiele in der Grabausstattung von Amphikleia, wohl an einer Halskette getragen. Cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier (oben Anm. 9), 157 Nr. 890, 895—97, 904, 917, 936. Für Auskünfte bin ich E. Mastrokostas sehr verpflichtet.

[39] Vgl. Felsch, *AA* 1980 (oben Anm. 1), 58 Anm. 78; Kilian-Dirlmeier (oben Anm. 9), 174—175.

[40] Kilian (oben Anm. 13), 26—27 Taf. 23,8. 11. 16; Taf. 24,7; die delphischen Pferde als Lokalprodukte zuerst angesprochen: Cl. Rolley, „*Les monuments figurées*", *FdD* V (1969) 73—76, cf. pl. 13 nos. 46. 49. 50—53.

[41] *AA* 1980 (oben Anm. 1), 58 Fig. 29—31; 58—60. Außer den dort besprochenen Exemplaren (Radanhänger mit aufgesetztem Hirsch, zwei Löwen, Pferd) ein korinthisches Pferd (Dreifußaufsatz?), ein ungeschlachtes, lokales Pferd (Gerätfigur?), ein Pferd auf Rippenhenkel eines Dreifußkessels (wahrscheinlich Import), ein Anhänger in Form dreier, übereinandergestellter Ringe mit aufgesetztem Vierfüßler (Löwe?).

[42] Lamia, Slg. der Ephorie Nr. 233; vom Verf. aus der als Rad inventarisierten Rundbasis, dem linken Vorderbein und Torso zusammenpaßt. Die drei anderen Beine haben keine Verbindung zur Basis und sind teilweise ergänzt. Restauriert im Museum Volos, wobei die Neigung des Leibes nach vorn wohl etwas überbetont wurde. H. 10,7 cm.

aus Anavra trotz seiner ähnlichen Ausdünnung ein rundplastisches Werk, behält plastisches Volumen. Kopf, Schenkel und im Querschnitt runde Beine sind massiv. Die Sprunggelenke sind weich angegeben. Dem korinthischen Typ folgende Pferde haben im Querschnitt rechteckige Beine mit eckig ausgeschnittenen Sprunggelenken. Hier folgt das Pferd aus Anavra einer Stilrichtung, die erst jetzt als ein weiterer Landschaftsstil Gestalt anzunehmen beginnt und mit Böotien verbunden werden darf. Die Bostoner Hirschgruppe und ihr Werkstattkreis, der jetzt um zwei Gegenstücke zur Bostoner Gruppe und ein Reh aus dem Grabtumulus bei Kamilovrysi bereichert ist[43], scheinen mir den Kunstkreis zu umschreiben, dem das Pferd von Anavra verpflichtet ist.

Das Pferd von Kalapodi in korinthischer Tradition[44] und das Pferd von Anavra nach böotischen Vorbildern zeigen zusammen mit den schon publizierten Pferden gröberen Stils aus Anavra, Kainourgion und einem sehr provinziellen Pferd aus Rhegginion[45] den weiten Fächer stilistischer Strömungen, die in Mittelgriechenland nebeneinander bestanden, Strömungen, die gleichermaßen Einflüsse aus Thessalien wie aus den südlichen Nachbarlandschaften erkennen lassen.

Die mittelgriechischen Landschaften Phokis und Lokris bildeten demnach schon in geometrischer Zeit ein Bindeglied zwischen den nordgriechischen Kunstlandschaften, vor allem Thessalien, und dem griechischen Süden. Aus der Rezeption der verschiedenen Stileinflüsse waren sie aber gleichwohl in der Lage, durchaus Eigenständiges zu schaffen. Diese eigene mittelgriechische Kunst beginnt jetzt langsam, in der Keramik wie auch im Bronzehandwerk, Gestalt zu gewinnen.

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Silker Weiche 10
D-2057 REINBEK

Fig. 17. Pferd aus Anavra. Lamia, Slg. der Ephorie Nr. 233. Neg. DAI Athen 75/23.

Discussion

H. Tzavella-Evjen: I was struck by the similarity of the birds you have shown us with some clay discs discovered by T. Spyropoulos in Tanagra together with the sarcophagi, from the Late Bronze Age. Do you have any comment on that?

R. Felsch: The similarity is indeed striking, but we cannot demonstrate any connection, since there is a substantial chronological gap intervening, and the ones from my excavations (which are pendants) do not go further back than the second half of the 8th century.

W. Burkert: What is the function of the central pit in the temple? Was it a bothros for votives? Do you have parallels?

R. Felsch: I do not know of any parallels. There are two pits which are well cut and oblique to the main axis of the temple. Their function is a mystery, but they were not initially dug for rubbish dumps.

S. Hiller: Do you have an interpretation of the bronze seated figurine you have shown to us?

R. Felsch: I cannot explain it. The figurine is semi-reclining on a piece of furniture, which may be a throne.

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[43] B. Schmaltz (oben Anm. 17) mit 42 Anm. 81 (bisherige Landschaftszuweisungen: korinthischer Einfluß bzw. lakonisch). Bostoner Hirsch: D. G. Mitten, *BMFA* 65, 1967, 12 ff.

[44] *AA* 1980, 58 Fig. 31.

[45] Zusammengestellt bei Felsch, *AA* 1980 (oben Anm. 1) 60 Anm. 93.

Weihungen aus Eisen und Eisenverarbeitung im Heiligtum zu Philia (Thessalien)

von
Klaus Kilian

Philia, ein von internationalen Weihungen nicht erfaßtes Heiligtum im Innern der Thessalischen Ebenen bei Karditsa ist nach den Inschriftenfunden der Athena Itonia geweiht[1]. Nach dem Fundspiegel setzen die Weihungen in spätgeometrischer Zeit ein; Veränderungen in der Anlage und Organisation des Heiligtums zeichnen sich erst im Spätarchaischen ab. Philia beginnt wie auch andere Heiligtümer erst nach dem Mittelgeometrischen (vgl. Beitrag C. Rolley) und verdeutlicht nicht nur in der Provenienz der einzelnen Weihungen sondern auch in der Menge der Paraphernalia eine Abstufung etwa zu dem offensichtlich verbindungsreicheren Heiligtum der Enodia von Pherai innerhalb der gleichen Landschaft. Philia zeigt als einzige außerthessalische Bindung nur jene zu Makedonien wie Südbulgarien, die durch Hirtenzüge über die Hassia ihre Erklärung finden mögen[2]. Eine einzelne Luristanstandarte und ein urartäisches Blechgefäß sind heute eher als integrierte Fremdlinge der griechischen Sachkultur anzusprechen[3].

Aus geometrischer Zeit wurden bei der Ausgrabung keine Reste fester Bauten angetroffen; im Nordosten der Grabungsfläche von D. Theocharis wird nach der Kartierung der Kleinfunde der Rand der Fundkonzentration — d.h. der zentrale Weiheplatz — gerade von der Ausgrabung erreicht (*Abb. 1—3*, dunkler Raster); im Norden wie im Süden davon zeigt die geringe Fundzahl die Zugehörigkeit zum Areal des Heiligtums an (*Abb. 1—3*, heller Raster). Dieses Gebiet ist von nahezu fundfreien Streifen durchzogen, die wir wohl als Zugangswege zu interpretieren haben. Hier sei kurz von den reichen Weihungen aus Eisen gehandelt, die noch in einem aussagefähigen Zustand zeichnerisch aufgenommen werden konnten[4]. Eisenweihungen der geometrischen Zeit werden selten publiziert bzw. entzogen sich meist einer Konservierung. So ist der Bestand an Eisenweihungen in Philia nach Erfahrungen z.B. in Kalapodi[5] und Arg. Heraion[6], oder während der letzten Jahrzehnte in Olympia[7] eine übliche Erscheinung in Heiligtümern neben den allso bekannten Bronzen. Die über 472 Lanzenspitzen oder 36 Schwerter aus Eisen[8] sind keine landschaftstypische Besonderheit, aus der besondere Bräuche abzuleiten wären.

Aus Philia sind wie in anderen Heiligtümern eine geringe Zahl an eisernem Trachtzubehör — Fibeln, Na-

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[1] D. R. Theocharis, *Deltion* 18, 1963, Chronika, 135 f.; 19, 1964, Chronika, 244 ff.; 20, 1965, Chronika, 311 ff.; 22, 1967, Chronika, 295 ff.

[2] K. Kilian, *ArchKorrespondenzbl* 1973, 431 ff.; ders., *PZ* 50, 1975, 27 f.; 119 f. I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Anhänger in Griechenland in der mykenischen bis zur spätgeometrichen Zeit, PBF* XI,2 (1979), 8—12. 16. 21—24. 447. 562. 653, 1189. 1524; Kilian, *GodišnSarajevo* 13, 1976, 167 ff. — Zuletzt V. Pingel in *Situla* 20—21, 1980, 172 ff., dessen magische Glaubensvorstellungen in balkanischen Anhängern durch die Abnutzungsspuren an entspr. griechischen Objekten in Heligtümern bzw. ihre Anwesenheit in Gräbern des Mutterlandes wie Großgriechenlands (vgl. Kilian-Dirlmeier a.O. 262 f.) auch für Hellenen bezeugt sind, sofern man Hellenen des 8. Jhs. nicht eine Amulettfeindlichkeit bzw. bezugsfreie Schmucksucht unterstellen will.

[3] *Ebenso selbverständlich* wie Bronzeschale des Kerameikos etwa im Spiegel der z.T. älteren Funde von Levkandi: V. R. d'A. Desborough in *Tribute to an Antiquary, pres. to M. Fitch* (1978), 25 ff.

[4] Mit besonderem Dank gedenke ich D. Theocharis, der in liberalster Weise die Aufnahme 1973/74 und die Publikation verstattete. Dem Herausgeber der *PBF* ist für die Aufnahme der Philiafunde in die Serie XX dieser Reihe und die Verfügbarkeit der meisten Druckvorlagen zu danken.

[5] R. Felsch, *AAA* 8, 1975, 21 Abb. 24; ders., *AA* 1980, 47 ff.; freundlich wurde Einsicht in die Funde durch Ausgräber wie den Bearbeiter H. O. Schmitt gewährt.

[6] J. L. Caskey, P. Amandry, *Hesperia* 21, 1952, 183.

[7] Einblick in die Magazinbestände verdanke ich A. Mallwitz; vgl. Anm. 8.

[8] Vgl. etwa „Funddichte" der Eisengegenstände in Delphi, Athena Pronaia: R. Demangel, *FdD* II,3 (1926), 45 Abb. 55; 80 Abb. 86; 92 Abb. 100; 93 Abb. 101; 125 Abb. 135; zur älteren Publikation des Gebietes um den Apollontempel, s. E. Hansen, *BCH* 84, 1960, 402 Abb. 19. 20; P. Amandry, *BCH* 63, 1939, 107. — Olympia: A. Furtwängler, *Olympia* IV (1890), 173. 178 f.; H. Weber, *OlForsch* 1, 1944, 152 ff. 157 f. 164 f. — Ithaka: S. Benton, *BSA* 35, 1934—35, 70 f.; 48, 1953, 356 ff. Abb. 35. — Perachora: H. Payne, *Perachora* 1 (1940), 189 f. Taf. 86.

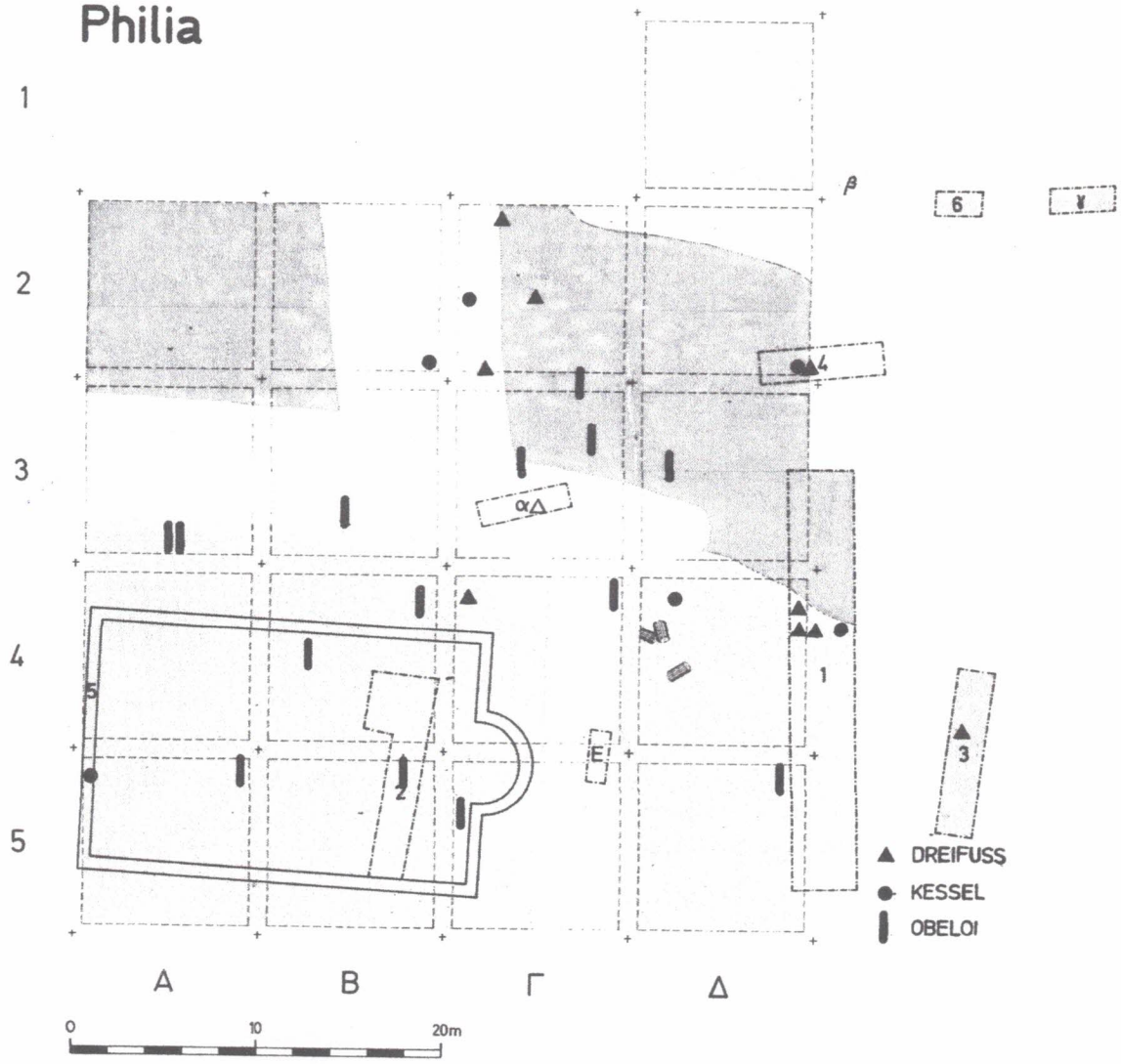


Abb. 1. Philia, Verbreitung der Dreifüße, Kessel, Obeloi.

deln, Armringe — vorhanden[9]. Von Gefäßen haben sich die massiven Henkel von Kesseln (*Abb. 4,1—3*), jene möglicherweise auch aus Bronzeblech, erhalten; entsprechende Henkel sind aus Asea(?) und Olympia bekannt[10]. Aus Asea sei ein Miniaturdreifuß aus Eisen (*Abb. 11,20*) neben 14 entsprechenden Exemplaren aus Bronze[10a] aufgeführt. Aus Philia sind zu erwähnen ein Faßreifen (*Abb. 4,6*), Beschläge von Möbeln (*Abb. 4,9.10.11.16.18*), ferner wohl von einem Fensterladen (*Abb. 4,17*) und einer Türe oder schweren Truhe (*Abb. 4,23*)[11] oder nicht weiter bestimmbarer Funktion (*Abb. 4,7.8.22*). Neben einer wohl geringen Zahl von Objekten, deren Funktion unbekannt ist (u.a. *Abb. 4,4.12.21.23.24*), begegnen aus dem täglichen Gebrauch Schlüssel[12] (*Abb. 4,15*), Feuerstähle (*Abb. 4,13.14.19* auch *Abb. 12,9—12.22*), Angelhaken (*Abb. 4,5*). Ferner sind Schirrungsteile — Trensen[13] (*Abb. 4,24.25*) —, Hufeisen (*Abb. 4,20*) und

[9] Pherai: Kilian, *Fibeln in Thessalien* (1975), Taf. 64,2.3; Kalapodi: Bericht R. Felsch in diesem Band; Delphi: L. Lerat, *BCH* 85, 1961, 340 Abb. 27; Perachora: Payne (oben Anm. 8), Taf. 86,29; Ithaka: Benton, *BSA* 35, 1934—35, 71; 48, 1953, 358 Abb. 35,23—29.

[10] Mus. Tegea. — M. Maaß, *Die geometrischen Dreifüße von Olympia* (1978), 126 Anm. 6, Taf. 64,440.

[11] Vgl. Olympia: Maaß (oben Anm. 10), 117 ff. Abb. 10,380.381.354 Taf. 57, 357.361; 60,352.355.356.

[12] Vgl. Asea (Mus. Tegea); Arg. Heraion: H. F. de Cou in C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* 2 (1905), Taf. 133,2722; Korinth: A. Newhall Stillwell, *Corinth* XV,1 (1948), Taf. 50,129 Nr. 79; Olympia: H. Weber in *OlForsch* 1, 1944, 166 Taf. 72; ferner Pästum: P. Zancani Montuoro, *AttiMemMagna Grecia* N.S. 6—7, 1965—66, 152 ff. Taf. 44, und Garaguso: J. P. Morel in *10° Conv MagnaGrecia 1970*, Taf. 89,2, Heiligtümer, die ebenfalls archaischer Zeitstellung sind.

[13] Ferner H. Donder, *Zaumzeug in Griechenland und Zypern* (1981), Taf. 11,88; 13,113; 28,256.

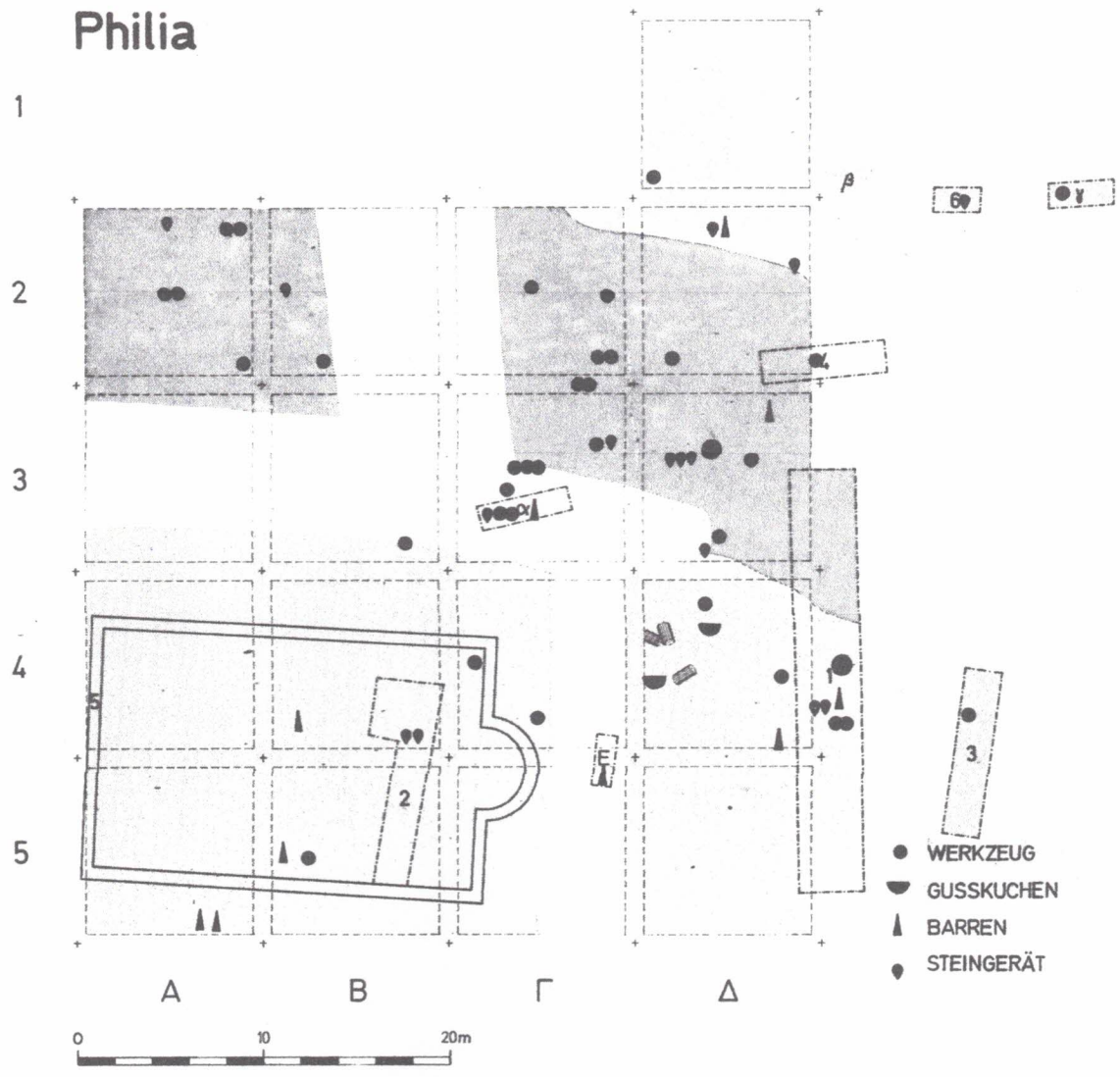


Abb. 2. Philia, Verbreitung von Werkzeug, Gußkuchen, Barren und Steingerät.

wohl ein Wagenbeschlag (*Abb. 4,26*) zu nennen, die wiederum nur einen ergänzenden Aspekt zu den Weihungen aus Bronze bringen.

Aus weiteren Handlungsvorgängen im Heiligtum seien aufgeführt die nachfolgenden Fundgruppen aus Eisen: Obeloi (*Abb. 5*) sind zu Philia durch ihre Verbreitung an den Zugangswegen (*Abb. 1*) und der damit gegebenen Interpretation ebenso wie in Samos[14] auf den tatsächlichen Fleischverzehr — Fleischspenden — im Heiligtum zu beziehen. Eine sozial-typische Bindung wie etwa in geometrischen Gräbern Griechenlands[15], zeitgleichen Erscheinungsformen der Apenninhalbinsel (*Abb. 6*) oder dann im frühorientalisierenden Großgriechenland[16] und Etrurien[17] ist nicht festzustellen[18].

Einen hohen Fundanteil nehmen die Messer ein. Ihre dichte Fundverteilung auch außerhalb der „Altarzone" läßt sie zusammen mit den Obeloi — Bratspießen — in Verbindung mit kultischen Mahlzeiten bringen bzw. ihre nachfolgende Deponierung im Bereich des Heiligtums — wohl aus religiösen Reinheitsvorstellungen[19] — ist festzuhalten. Ihre Typengliede-

[14] A. Furtwängler in *Tainia, Festschrift R. Hampe* (1980), 81 ff. Taf. 18.

[15] u.a. Argos: P. Courbin, *Tombes géométriques d'Argos* (1974), 136 mit weiterer Literatur. — Fundliste zu *Abb. 6*: Bratspieße: Vetulonia, Volterra, Capodimonte, Caracupa, Castel Decima, S. Marco dei Gavoti, Sala Consilina, — Feuerböcke: Veji, Capodimonte.

[16] B. d'Agostino, *Tombe principesche dell'Orientalizzante Antico da Pontecagnano* (= *MonAnt* 49,1, 1977), 18 ff.

[17] P. Stary in *Kleine Schriften Marburg* 5, 1979, 40 ff.

[18] Von dem Aspekt der Verwendung in Heiligtümern oder jenem der sozialtypischen Auszeichnung werden die Ausführungen von P. Courbin in diesem Band nicht berührt.

[19] A. Furtwängler in *Tainia* (oben Anm. 14), 95 ff.

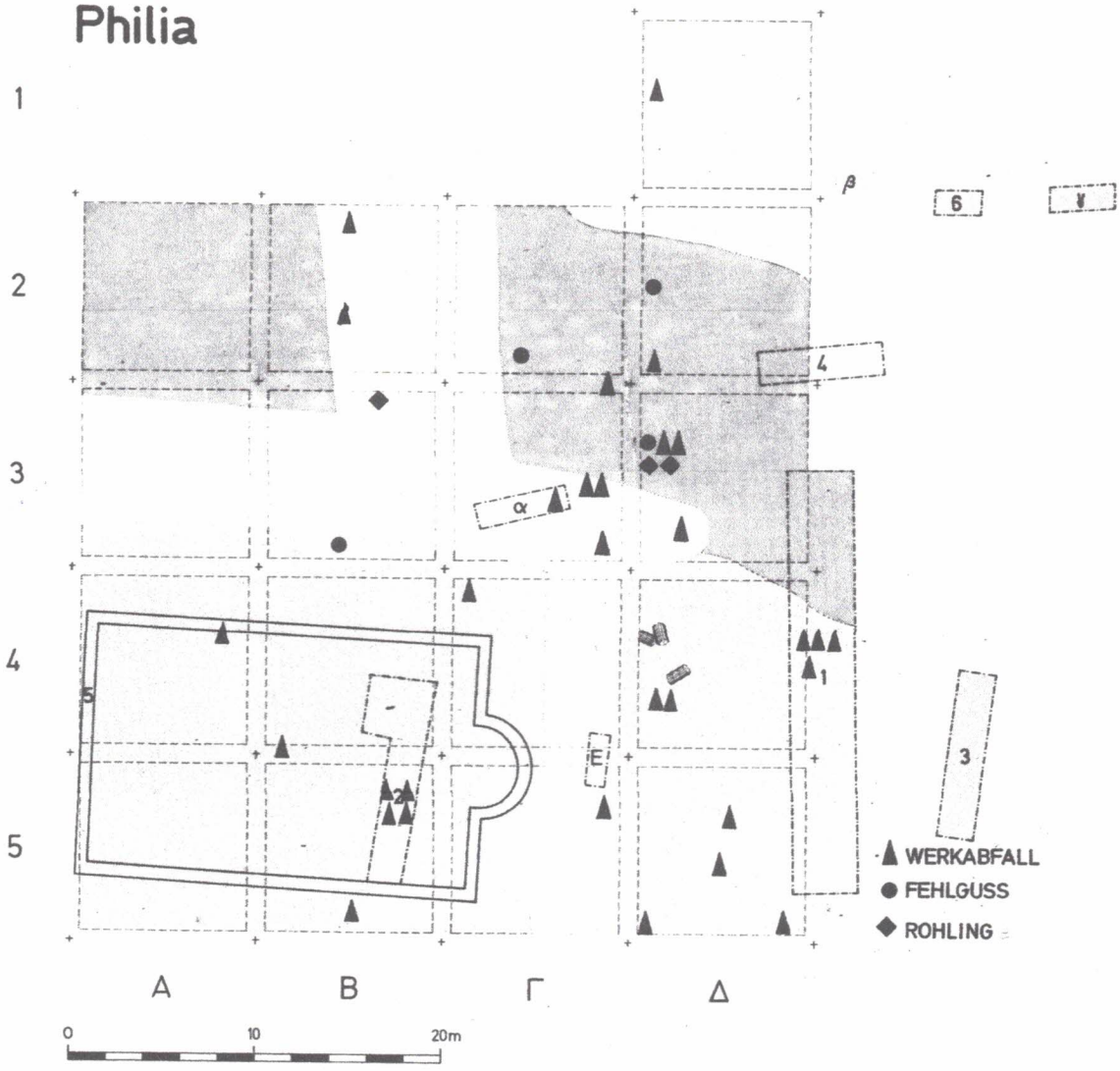


Abb. 3. Philia, Verbreitung von Werkabfällen, Fehlgüssen und Rohlingen.

rung (*Abb. 7*) zeigt nicht nur eisentypische Formen, die von der Magna Graecia bis Kleinasien bekannt sind[20], sondern auch Imitationen von Bronzeformen (*Abb. 7,6—8*)[21]. Ein Vergleich der Varianten mit Messern aus Gräbern[22] verdeutlicht den reichen Formenbestand im Heiligtum von Philia.

[20] u.a. Gela: P. Orsi, *MonAnt* 17, 1906, 722 f. Taf. 54; Olympia: Weber (oben Anm. 8), Taf. 73, a—c; Emporio: J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio, Excavations in Chios* (1967), 231 Abb. 51,452—460; Tarsus: H. Goldman, *Tarsus* 3 (1963), 363 ff. Taf. 168. 169,30—34, vgl. aus Bronze ebd. Taf. 175,37.39. Boghazköy: R. M. Boehmer, *Die Kleinfunde aus Boghazköy* (1972) Taf. 47,1322A, hier *Abb. 7,3*.

[21] *Abb. 7,3* Derivat zu Deshayes K2, J. Deshayes, *Les outils de Bronze* 2 (1960), 131 Taf. 42,15. *Abb. 7,6* zu Typ Hadersdorf/Este, J. Rihovsky, *Die Messer in Mähren und dem Ostalpengebiet* (1972), Nr. 237 ff.; X. Vinski-Gasparini, *Die Urnenfelderkultur in Nordkroatien* (1973), Taf. 101,2; V. Bianco-Peroni, *Die Messer in Italien* (1976), Nr. 348. *Abb. 7,7* ähnlich Goldman, *Tarsus* 3, Taf. 175,39. *Abb. 7,8* A. Newhall Stillwell, *Corinth* XV,1 (1948), Taf. 48,14; Parnis Gipfelheiligtum (freundl. Mitteilung E. Mastrokostas).

[22] u.a. Halos: Kilian, *PZ* 50, 1975, Taf. 20,5; 21,3; 22,4. — Krannon: A. Tziafalias, *AAA* 11, 1978, 173 Abb. 19.

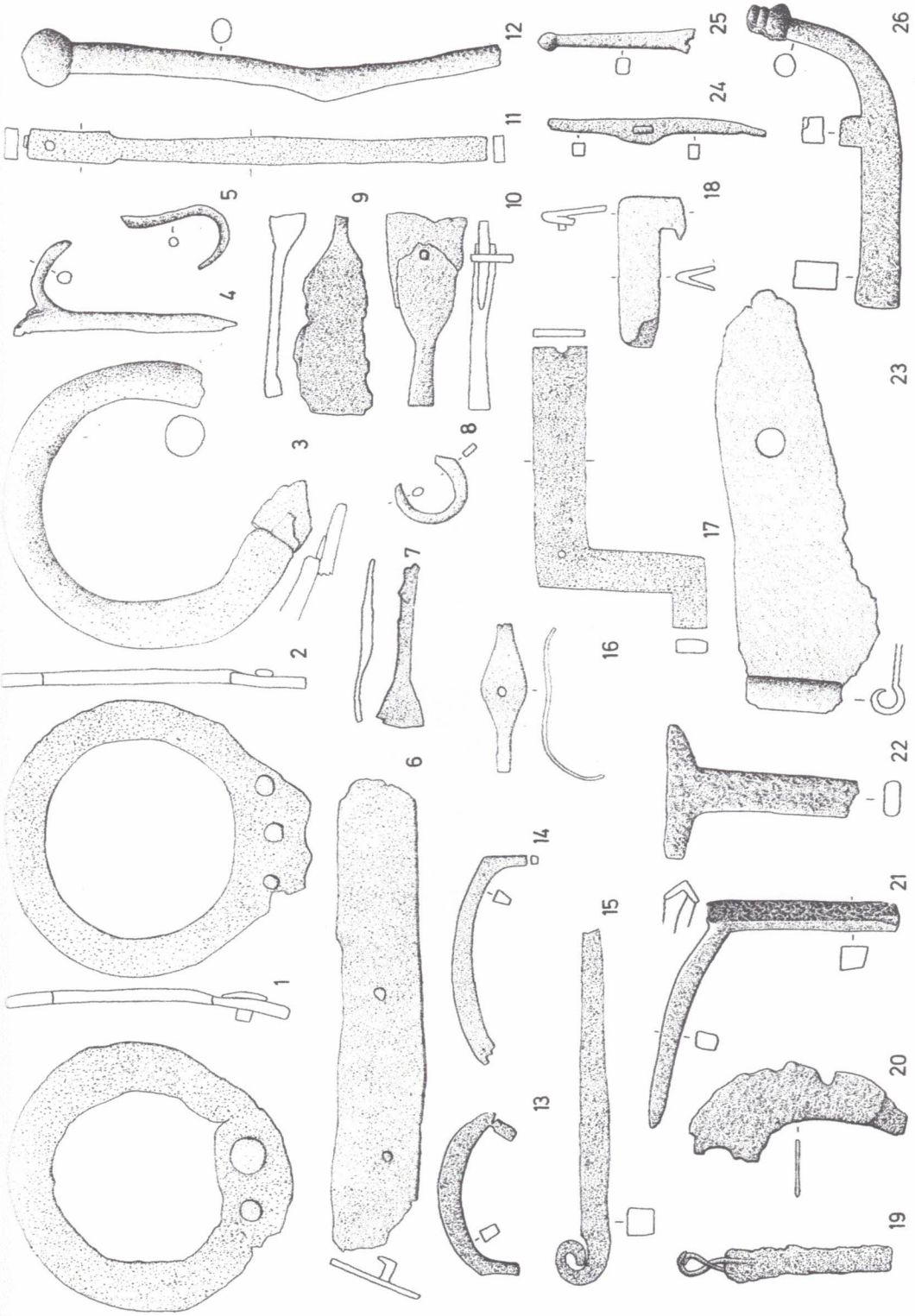


Abb. 4. Philia, Gerätschaften aus Eisen. M. 1:2,5.

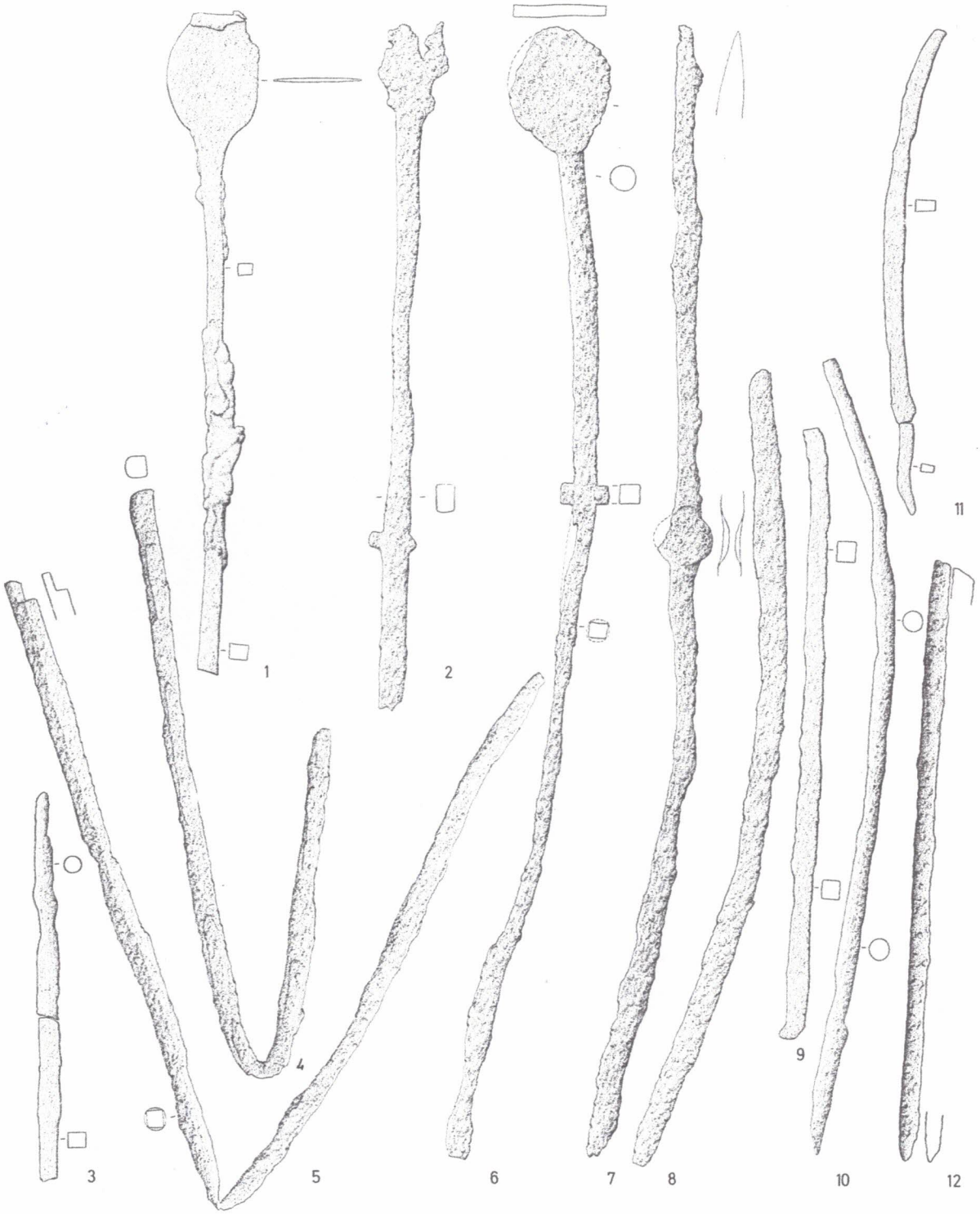


Abb. 5. Philia, Obeloi (1.2 aus geometrischen Komplexen). M. 1:3.

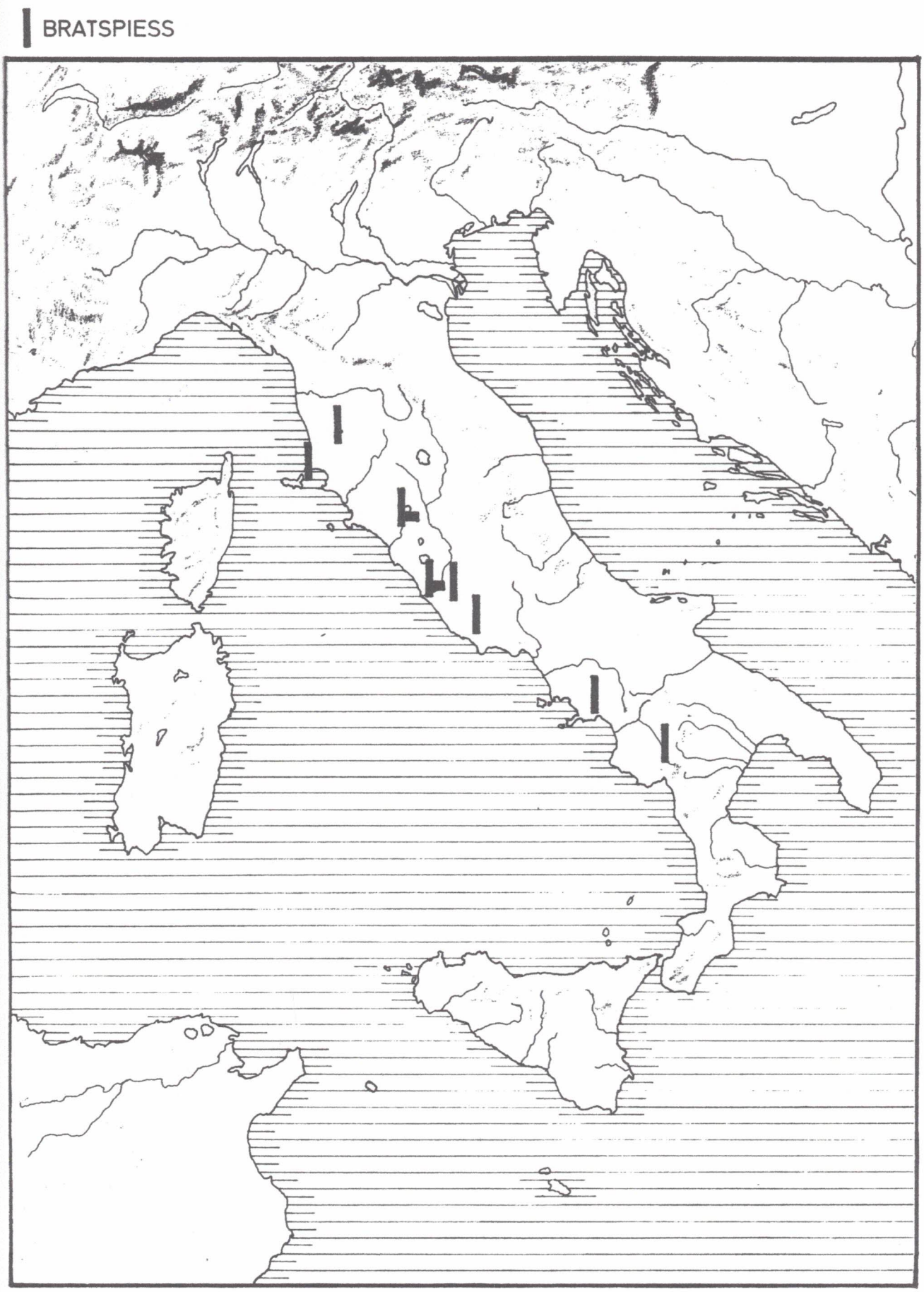
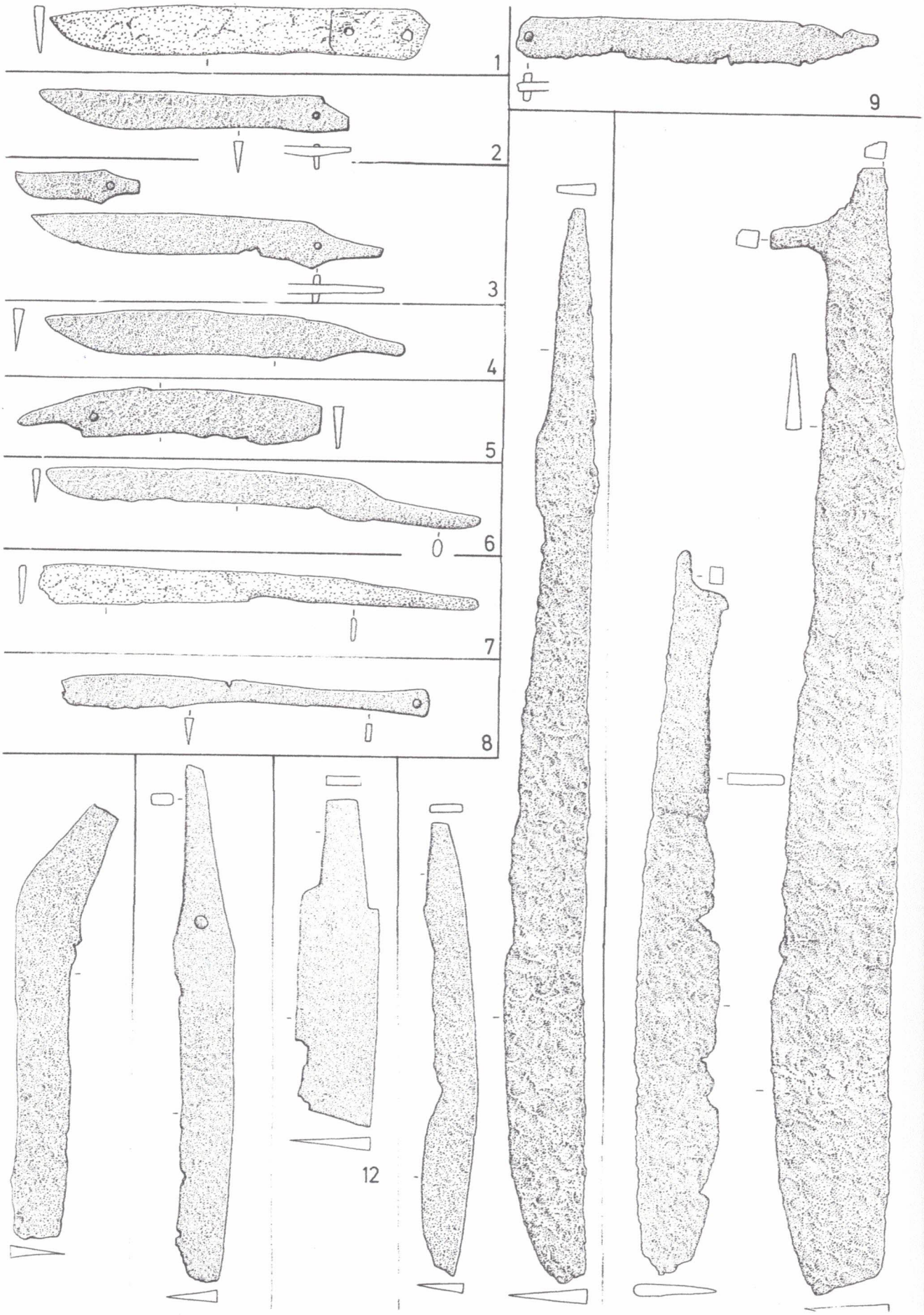


Abb. 6. Verbreitung von Obeloi und Feuerböcken während der Frühen Eisenzeit in Italien.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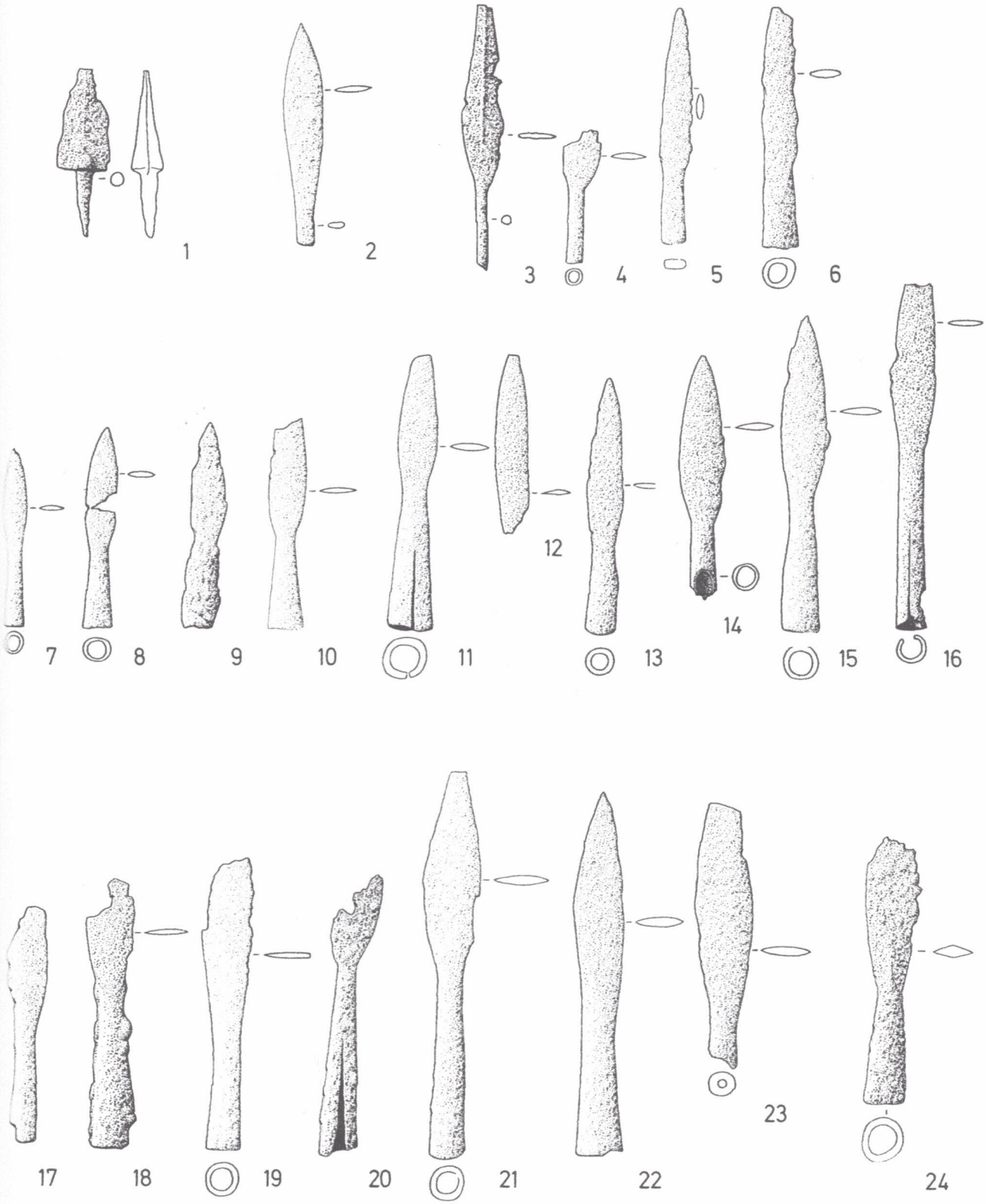

Abb. 8. Philia, Auswahl an Pfeilspitzen aus Eisen (2.13—15.20.24 aus geometrischen bzw. 1.16.21 aus archaischen Komplexen). M. 1:2.

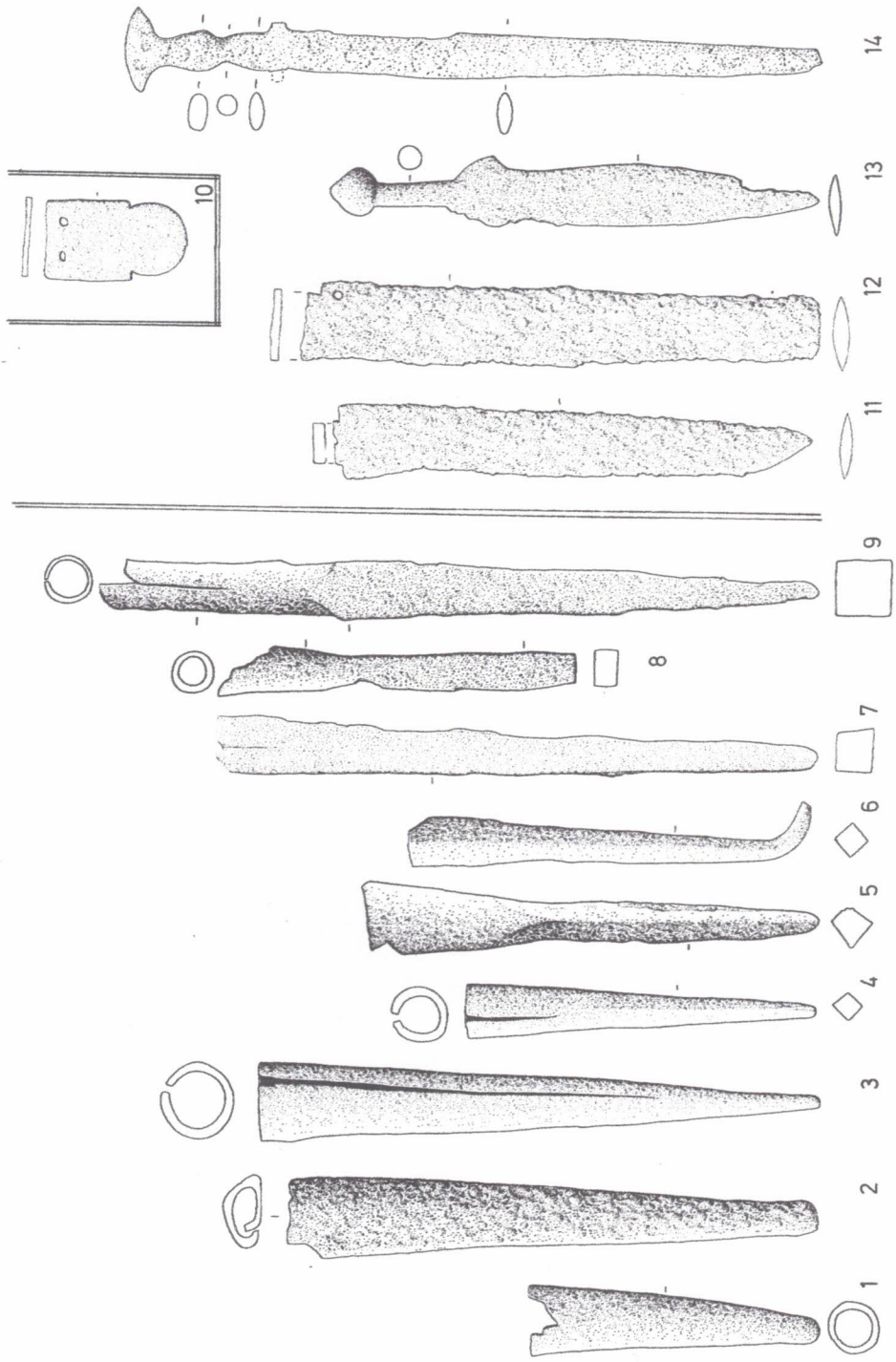

Abb. 9. Philia, eiserne Saurotere, Dolche und Schuppe eines Panzers (2.7.8 aus geometrischen bzw. 12.14 aus archaischen Komplexen). M. 1:2,5.

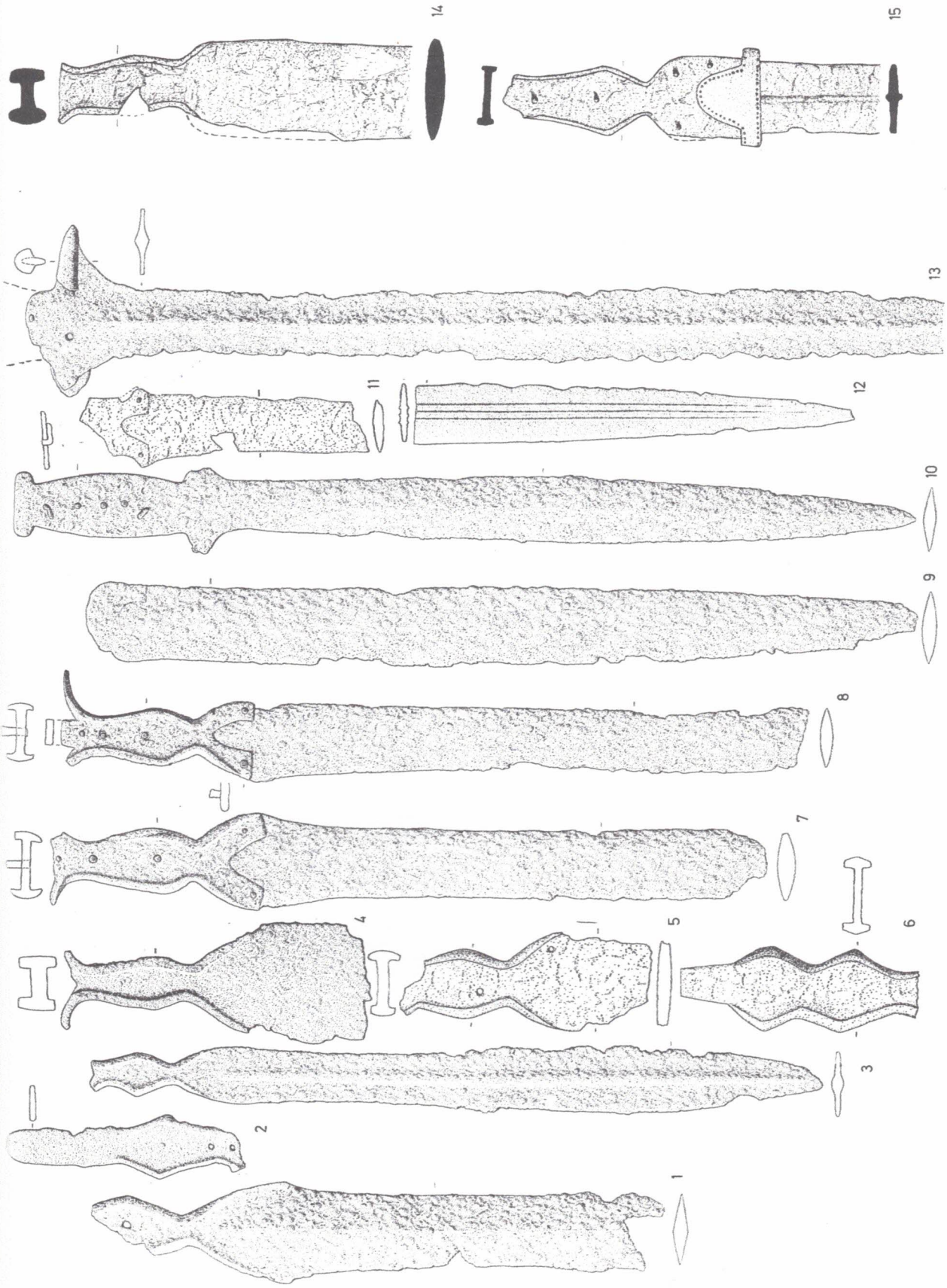

Abb. 10. 1—13 Philia, Formen der Eisenschwerter; 14.15 Sala Consilina-Italien (5.10 aus archaischen Komplexen). M. 1:3.

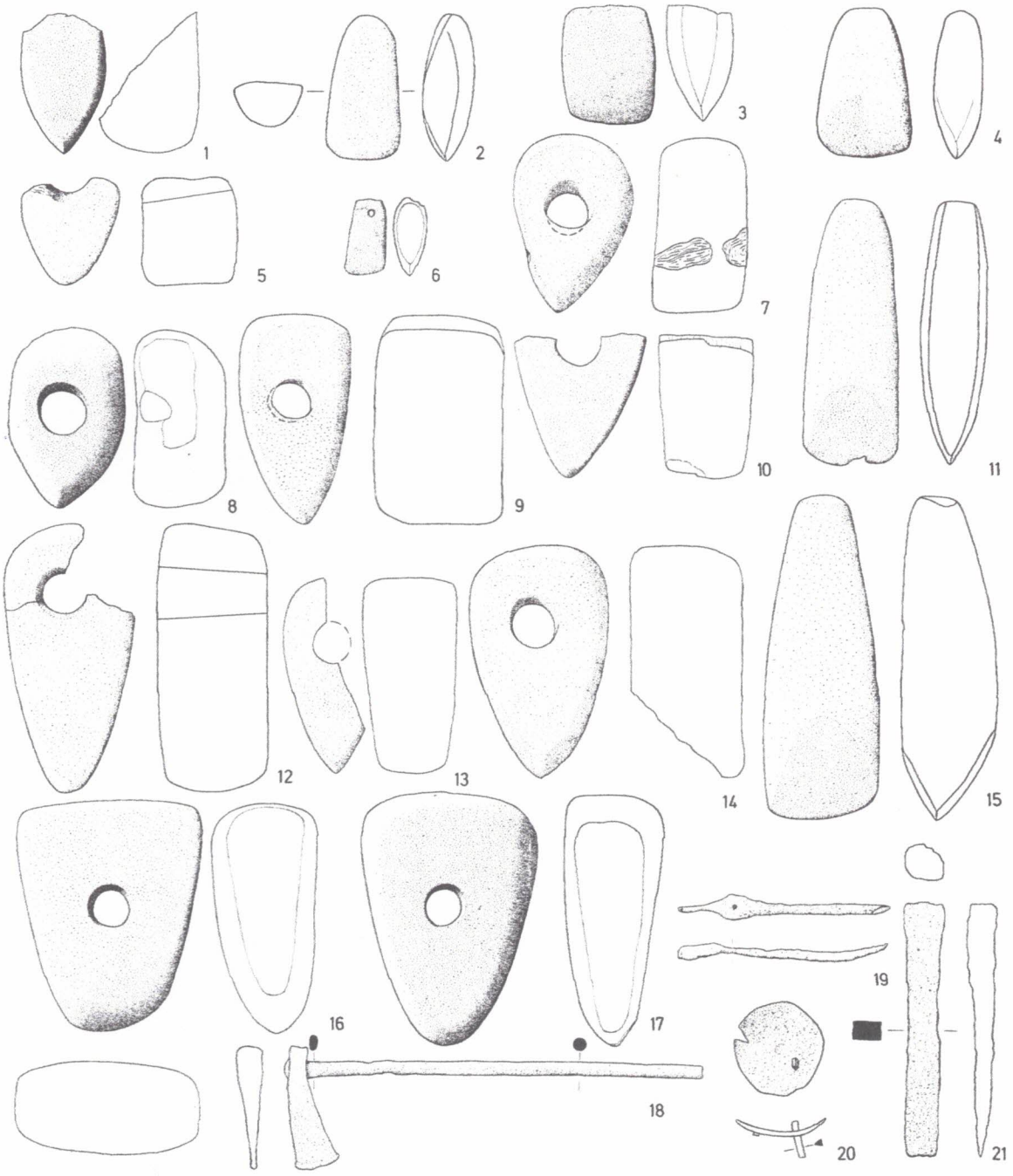

Abb. 11, 1—17 Philia, spätneolithisches Steingerät aus geometrischen Komplexen; 18 Delphi, Bronzehammer; 19—21 Asea, Eisengerät. M. 1:3.

Abb. 12. Philia, 1—3 Rohlinge, 25 Barren, 4—8.13—18.23.24.26.27.33 Hämmer aus Eisen, 9—12.19—22.28—32 Eisenabfälle, 34—36 Wetzsteine. M. 1:2,5.

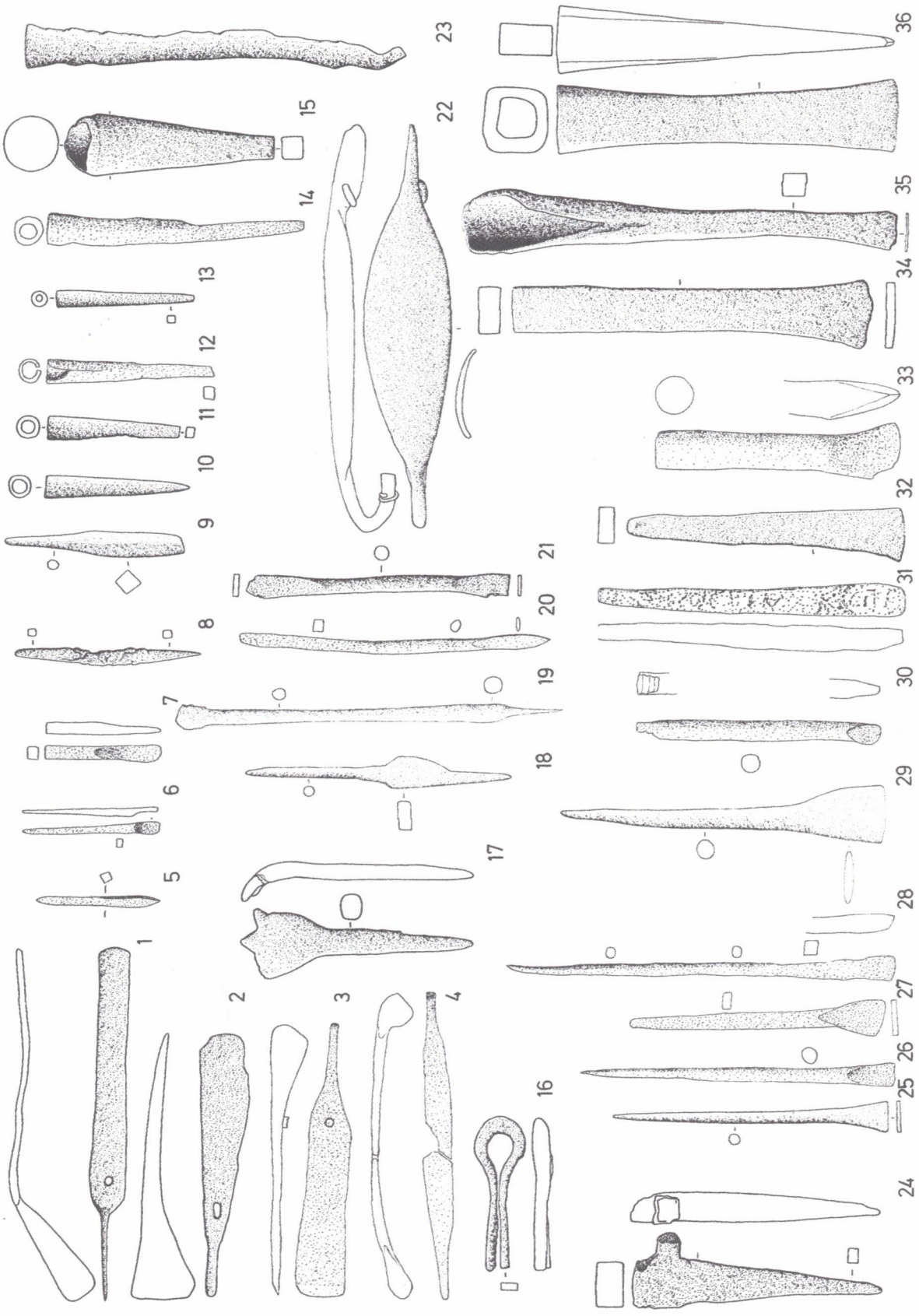

Abb. 13. Philia, eiserne Werkzeuge. M. 1:2,5.

Pfeilspitzen, sehr selten bekannt gegeben[23], liegen erstmals in einer umfangreichen Variantenzahl aus Philia vor[24] (*Abb. 8*).

Die Lanzenspitzen decken sich in der Variationsbreite wie Zeitstellung mit jenen aus Gräbern[25]. Aufmerksam sei in Philia auf das Vorhandensein von Speeren gemacht, die wohl als Jagdwaffen anzusprechen sind. Überraschend ist die Vielfalt der eisernen Saurotere (*Abb. 9*), die sich mehrfach als Nachbildung von Bronzeformen erweisen lassen (*Abb. 9,5—9*)[26]. Zu den spätgeometrischen Dolchen aus Eisen (*Abb. 9, 13—14*) sind derzeit keine Vergleiche publiziert[27].

Bei den Schwertern aus Eisen (*Abb. 10*) sei auf die Variationsbreite und Traditionsformen des geometrischen wie frühorientalisierenden Bestandes im Heiligtum verwiesen[28], die eine wesentliche Ergänzung zu Formen aus zeitgleichen Gräbern, z.B. Krannon, Halos, Eretria, Argos bis Knossos bringen[29]. Darüber hinaus wird die Adaption einiger dieser Traditionstypen im großgriechischen Hinterland (*Abb. 10,14.15*) zu Beginn des 7. Jhs. mit anderen zeitgleichen griechischen Waffenteilen — etwa Helmen[30] — verständlicher. Hierzu zählen auch die Schwerter mit Knickschultern[31] (*Abb. 10,11*). Entsprechend ist der jüngere Schwerttyp mit Ärmchenschultern (*Abb. 10,10*) in Italien zeitgleich belegt[32]. Was diese Waffentypen anbelangt, führt uns der Befund in Philia in Innerthessalien sicher die zeitüblichen Waffen vor; für die Naue II-Derivate lernen wir hier eine erstaunliche Variantenbreite in datierbarem Fundverband kennen. Noch ungeklärt ist die Entstehung der Schwerter mit Parierheft vom Ende des 6. Jhs. (*Abb. 10,13*), die zeitgleich, wie im 5. Jh. dann, aus den Gräbern von Kozani, Vergina, bei Thessaloniki, Poteidaia, Romaja (Kosovo) oder u.a. Materano, Melfi, Ordona, Atri und Numana (Picenum) bekannt sind[33].

Es sei noch eine weitere Fundgattung aus Philia erwähnt, die bislang nicht bekannt gegeben wurde. Es kam dort in den spätgeometrischen Komplexen eine Reihe von Steingeräten zutage: Schuhleisten-Keile (*Abb. 11,11.15*), spitznackige und trapezförmige Beile (*Abb. 11,1—6*) sowie schwere Steinhämmer (*Abb. 11,7—10.12—14.16.17*). Diese Objekte sind spätneolithischer Zeitstellung[34]; sie wurden hier offensichtlich, wie die Durchlochung eines Beiles zum Anhänger beweist (*Abb. 11,6*), unter die Weihungen aufgenommen[35]. Gerade bei den Steinhämmern drängt sich eine Verwendung in der Metallverarbeitung (vgl. Verbreitung *Abb. 2*) auf, wie Beobachtungen auch im mitteleuropäischen Kulturraum nahelegen[36].

Die Herstellung von Bronzegerät — Trachtzubehör, Votivfiguren und Waffen — ist in den Heiligtümern von Delphi[37], Isthmia[38], Olympia[39], Asea[40], jetzt auch Kalapodi[41] ebenso in Philia durch Gußkuchen, Fehlgüsse, Rohlinge und Halbfabrikate belegt; in Perachora[42] ist etwa die Bearbeitung von Bein im Heiligtum selbst nachgewiesen. In Philia sichern Rohlinge von Messern (*Abb. 12,1—3*), Schneideabfall (*Abb. 12,19—21.29—32*), Stangen mit Schnittspuren

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[23] Olympia: Weber (oben Anm. 8), Taf. 62,h; Ägina: A. Furtwängler, *Aegina* (1906), Taf. 117,48; Perachora: J. T. Dunbabin, *Perachora* 2 (1940), Taf. 17,14; Korinth: G. R. Davidson, *Corinth* XII (1952), Taf. 92,1539. 1547—49. 1560; Delphi: P. Amandry, *BCH* 63, 1939, 107 Abb. 11; Pherai: Kilian, *Fibeln* (oben Anm. 9), Taf. 92,1—13.

[24] Die Tülle in Stärke eines Bleistiftes gibt zusammen mit dem Befund eines Grabes von Romaja (N. Durić, J. Glisić, J. Todorović, *Romaja* [1975], Taf. 10; Kilian, *PZ* 50, 1975, Taf. 75,2—5), Radanje (ebd. Taf. 51,3) den Hinweis, daß wir Pfeile und nicht Miniaturlanzen vor uns haben. So noch A. Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* (1964), 132 f.

[25] Bislang noch immer beste Zusammenstellung bei Snodgrass (oben Anm. 24), 123 ff.

[26] Vgl. Snodgrass (oben Anm. 24), 133 f.

[27] Weitere Varianten zu Delphi und Olympia, *Abb. 9,13*, vgl. Goldman, *Tarsus* 3, Taf. 173, 116.

[28] Ähnlich Delphi: Demangel, *FdD* II,3 (1926), 92 Abb. 100; Olympia: Weber (oben Anm. 8), 164 f. Taf. 70; 71,a—b; Asea (Mus. Tegea); Sounion: V. Stais, *ArchEph* 1917, 207 Abb. 18. — Typologische Zuordnung der Klingen geringerer Breite nur ins Protogeometrische nicht zu halten.

[29] A. Tziafalias, *AAA* 11, 1978, 163 Abb. 6; 172 Abb. 7. — Kilian, *PZ* 50, 1975, Taf. 19,8; 21,6. — C. Bérard, *L'Héroon, Eretria* 3 (1970), 16 Abb. 3; 20 Abb. 8 Taf. 9,37; 10,40. — Courbin (oben Anm. 15), Taf. 48, F.69. — J. N. Coldstream, *BSA* 58, 1963, 42 f. Abb. 14.

[30] J. de la Genière, *L'Age du Fer en Italie Méridionale* (1968), Taf. 8,2.

[31] Nichoria, Pithosgrab 658 (Mus. Kalamata); Drepanon: I. Dekoulakou, *ArchEph* 1973, Taf. IΔ,1.2; Olympia: Weber (oben Anm. 8), Taf. 70,a; Argos: Courbin (oben Anm. 15), Taf. 23, F.9; Mykene: V. R. d'A. Desborough, *BSA* 49, 1954, 260 ff. Taf. 45,1; aus Italien Beginn des 7. Jhs.: K. Kilian, *Früheisenzeitliche Funde aus der Südostnekropole von Sala Consilina* (1970), Taf. 20,112; 22,17a; 96,113.

[32] Melfi: G. Tocco in *12° ConvMagna Grecia 1972*, Taf. 27,2; Campli: V. Cianfarani, *Antiche Civiltà d'Abruzzo* (1969), Taf. 19,16.17; Offida: V. Dumitrescu, *L'Età del Ferro nel Piceno* (1924), 25 Abb. 1,11.

[33] V. G. Kallipolitis, *Praktika* 1958, 98 Abb. 2,1 Taf. 78,1. — A. Andreiomenou, *Deltion* 23, 1968, Chronika, Taf. 292,1. — *Albania* 2, 1927, 38 Abb. 12,b.c. — I. Undset, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 22, 1890, 23 Abb. 41. — Djurić u.a. (oben Anm. 24), Taf. 8,18. — G. Lo Porto in *13° ConvMagnaGrecia 1973*, 116 Taf. 8,c. — G. Tocco in *Atti Coll. Intern. Preist. Protostoria Daunia 1973* (1975), Taf. 95,2. — E. de Juliis ebd. Taf. 92,2. — u.a. Dumitrescu (oben Anm. 32), 25 Abb. 2,9.

[34] Chr. Tsountas, *Ai proistorikai akropoleis Diminiou kai Sesklou* (1908), 320 Abb. 245a Taf. 40,8; —40,3; 39,8.17; A. J. B. Wace, M. S. Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly* (1912), 50 Abb. 26,c; 118 Abb. 67,h; —119 Abb. 68,f; 120 Abb. 69,a.

[35] Beile im spätgeometrischen Haus: M. R. Popham in *Lefkandi* 1 (1980), 81 f. 85 Taf. 76,k—m mit weiterer Literatur; vgl. ähnliches Phänomen in italischen Grabfunden der Frühen Eisenzeit: F. v. Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde* 1 (1924), s.v. Amulett-/Beilchen.

[36] H. J. Hundt, *ArchKorrespondenzbl* 5, 1975, 115 ff.

[37] P. Perdrizet, *FdD* 5 (1908), 97 Abb. 339.

[38] W. Rostoker, E. R. Gebhard, *Hesperia* 49, 1980, 347 ff.

[39] W. Heilmeyer, *JdI* 84, 1969, 1 ff.

[40] Mus. Tegea, ausgeschnittener Blechabfall.

[41] Freudliche Mitteilung von R. Felsch.

[42] J. T. Dunbabin, *Perachora* 2 (1940), 433. 528 ff.

(*Abb. 12,31.32*) die Verarbeitung von Eisen im Heiligtum (Verbreitung *Abb. 3*); so ist die Tätigkeit aller Handwerksbereiche in den Heiligtümern selbst zu belegen, wobei etwa das Bearbeiten von Bronze und Eisen durch den gleichen Handwerkszweig aus noch zu erwähnenden Arbeitsweisen wahrscheinlich erscheint.

Durch diese Feststellung drängt sich eine neue Interpretationsmöglichkeit für die Werkzeuge unter dem Fundbestand der Heiligtümer auf. In Philia sind aus Eisen mehrere Treibhämmer für Blech[43] (*Abb. 13,1—4.12.13*), ein Treibamboß (*Abb. 13,24*), eine stattliche Zahl von Sticheln (*Abb. 13,8.18—20*), Durchschlägen (*Abb. 13,5.9—15.23*), Meißeln (*Abb. 13,6.7.21.25—36*), ein schwerer Schmiedehammer (*Abb. 12,33*), ein Beilhammer (*Abb. 12,17*) aus Eisen sowie wohl jene erwähnten aus Stein (*Abb. 11*) als Werkzeuge für Metallbearbeitung gefunden. Anzuschließen sind die kleinen Flachbeile (*Abb. 12,6.8.16*) und recht wahrscheinlich auch die eisernen Miniaturdoppelbeile (*Abb. 12,4—6.14—24*), wie ein jüngerer Fund aus der Phidiaswerkstatt zu Olympia[44] zeigt. Durch die gut dokumentierte Grabung von D. Theocharis in Philia ist es möglich, die Herstellung von Eisengerät im Heiligtum von Philia zu belegen; darüber hinaus lassen sich die Funde von Werkzeugen, die außerhalb der eigentlichen Altarzone liegen, mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit als Hinterlassenschaften der Werkstätten selbst und nicht als primäre Weihungen ansprechen (*Abb. 2*). Ähnlich mögen spätgeometrische Werkzeuge aus Delphi, Argivischem Heraion und Sounion[45] oder Asea zu interpretieren sein (*Abb. 11,18—19.21*).

Bei den großen Serien der Messer, Pfeil- und Lanzenspitzen drängt sich in der Wiederkehr von Variantenserien innerhalb der Typen ein Vergleich mit einer entsprechenden Beobachtung bei den Bronzen[46] auf; d.h. Bronze- und Eisengerät kommen aus der gleichen Handwerksstruktur. Neben dem Phänomen der „Musterbücher" im Gold- und Fibelhandwerk[47] sowie dem in den Heiligtümern „ruhenden" Produktionsüberschluß[48] — in einer Epoche als noch reiche Bronze- und Eisenausstattung in den Gräbern aller Landschaften üblich ist — drängen derartige Beobachtungen zu einer erneuten Diskussion über die Handwerksstruktur. Das Grab eines Treibschmiedes aus Chauchitsa[49] oder die beiden Statuetten von Helmschmieden, ohne Fundort bzw. wahrscheinlich aus Philia[50], eine dritte Statuette aus Serbien[51] mögen als weitere Argumente für die bisherige These von Einzelhandwerken i.e. Kleinbetrieben[52] angeführt werden. Entsprechend dem zeitgleichen Produktionshöhepunkt in Italien[53] und seiner Wirtschaftseigenheit lassen die erwähnten Phänomene im handwerklichen Bereich des Spätgeometrischen Griechenlands zusammen mit dem in Heiligtümern wie Gräbern faßbar werdenden Ausstoß an Fertigprodukten sich nicht mehr nur mit einem Einzelhandwerk erklären, sondern eher mit leistungsfähigen, spezialisierten Handwerksbetrieben verbinden, die dem Ausmaß der Nachfrage arbeitstechnisch nachkommen konnten.

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Discussion

N. Marinatos: Both R. Felsch and K. Kilian have discussed sanctuaries which were clearly attached to workshops. This corresponds to the situation in the Mycenaean age, where temples and workshops were connected.

K. Kilian: In the Mycenaean age we have a totally different social and economic organization, and these sanctuaries were state controlled. In Greek times we have individual workshops or larger scale ones, but the organization is different, the smiths working in a more or less primitive condition in the sanctuaries. The similarities therefore are superficial.

O. Murray: I would accept that the Geometric social environment is different from the Mycenaean, but should one not ask nevertheless how this environment arose, and what was the relationship between the temple and the workshop—what economy this rela-

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[43] Vgl. Werkzeugspuren identischer Treibhämmer an Unterseite „boiotischer" Fibeln, Tegea (Kilian in *Lakonikai Spoudai* 3, 1979, Abb. 8,6) oder an italischen Blechgefäßen (Kilian, *JdI* 92, 1977, 33 Nr. 41).

[44] Kleines Doppelbeil aus Blei mit bronzenem Schaft. Für die freundliche Einwilligung zur Erwähnung habe ich A. Mallwitz zu danken.

[45] Caskey, Amandry, *Hesperia* 21, 1952, 183; du Cou (oben Anm. 12), Taf. 127, 2269. 2270. 2265. 2266. 2267. 2271. 2272. 2288. 2291. — V. Stais, *ArchEph* 1917, 195 Abb. 7,1.

[46] Kilian, *Fibeln* (oben Anm. 9), 12. 32. 163 Abb. 1—4.

[47] D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche des 8. Jhs. v. Chr.* (1953), 62 ff.; Kilian, *Fibeln* (oben Anm. 9), 108 f. 126; ders., *LakonSpoud* (oben Anm. 43), 36 f.

[48] Zuletzt A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece* (1980), 52 ff.

[49] Kilian, *PZ* 50, 1975, Taf. 34,11 dazu 12—19.

[50] G. M. A. Richter, *AJA* 48, 1944, 1 ff. Abb. 1—4 bzw. F. Johansen, *Meddel. fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 38, 1982, 76 Abb. 5.

[51] L. B. Popović u.a., *Antićka Bronza u Jugoslaviji, Mus. Beograd* (1969), 66 Abb. 19.

[52] F. Eckstein, *Handwerk* = *ArchHom* II, L (1974), 14 ff. 42 f. — Aus archäologischen Beobachtungen erschlossenes Kunsthandwerk-Einzelhandwerker zuletzt W.-D. Heilmeyer in X. *OlBer* (1981), 66 f. 71; Spezialwerkstätten für Dreifüße: Snodgrass (oben Anm. 48), 52.

[53] Bologna = Birmingham Nordetruriens (D. Randall MacIver); R. Peroni, *ParPass* 125, 1969, 134 ff. Zu Werkstattkreisen und ihre Reichweite: Kilian in *Beiträge zu italienischen und griechischen Bronzefunden, PBF* XX,1 (1974), 76 f.; ders., *JdI* 92, 1977, 81 ff.

tionship was serving? Two possibilities occur to me. One is the function of the temple as the centre for a market; secondly it seems likely that in a later period mercenaries were often hired at temples: this is perhaps why the great Eastern kings dedicated at the Greek sanctuaries. Either would help to explain the existence of arms manufacture at a temple site.

K. Kilian: We cannot say that all production was associated with sanctuaries. Some workshops were found in settlements (Eretria, Ephesus, Pithekoussai), although rarely.

B. Bergquist: I find N. Marinatos' comparision of the Itonia workshops with Mycenaean sanctuary workshops precarious because of the differences in society and economy. I wonder whether the bronze workers at Philia were perhaps working for a sanctuary need, manufacturing bronze votives for the worshippers to buy for use in the cult, as in later times terracottas and vases were probably made for sale at the sanctuaries on festivals. Is there anything in the cult of Athena Itonia that would justify the amount of weapons dedicated, something like a *Waffentanz*?

R. Felsch: We have unfinished weapons at Kalapodi, too, which would suggest that a workshop was associated with the sanctuary. On the other hand we also have weapons which have been bent, i.e. rendered useless, which would indicate that they were initially manufactured for use as weapons and not as votives. One reason for making them useless is that otherwise the sanctuary would become an arsenal ready for instant use; that the Greeks really feared such a possibility is borne out by the account of Diodorus of the liberation of Thebes by Heracles from Erginos of Orchomenos.

K. Kilian: At Itonia also there is manufacturing (1) of objects only for dedication, such as giant fibulae, and (2) of weapons. The weapon votives are found on the NE altar area and are separate from the others. Perhaps we should stress that neither Philia nor Kalapodi have excessive numbers of iron weapons, if we compare them with the older reports of Delphi, the Argive Heraeum or Olympia.

S. Hiller: Coming back to the question raised by N. Marinatos, I would agree with her, and I would like to stress the facts. In Kition on Cyprus, we have a very strong connection between sanctuary and workshop and there are other instances, too. As for the production of weapons in Geometric sanctuaries, it does not come as a total surprise to a Mycenaeologist. I may remind you of tablet Jn 829 from Pylos, where temple bronze is recorded for the manufacture of arrowheads and spear-points. Perhaps the same tradition is being continued from the Mycenaean age.

May I ask you to tell me something about the origin of the sword types you have shown, and whether there is continuity with the Late Bronze Age or whether there is a break.

K. Kilian: The type of *Griffzungenschwert* first appears in the late 13th/early 12th century in the Aegean. There is a continuous development from this period down to the 8th century.

R. Hägg: I would like to ask you two questions. First, do you think there would be other areas of votive deposits in the sanctuary? Secondly, in the altar area there were votives consisting of parts of doors: How could we imagine doors as being votive?

K. Kilian: About your first question, other votive deposits are not to be excluded, especially since the excavation is not yet finished. As to the second we have to leave the question open.

R. Felsch: We have at Kalapodi one part of a door hinge deposited on a votive bench in front of a shrine dating to the 5th century B.C. It is obvious that the Greeks dedicated the strangest things to the deity.

R. Hägg: To me it seems that all the metal objects you have shown are of every-day use; even the arrowheads, as you say, are real and not miniature spearheads of votive character.

K. Kilian: Yes, they are certainly real arrow-heads, because we have exact parallels from graves.

R. Hägg: Could it be then, that the smiths dedicated to the sanctuary the first fruits of their production? That would explain unusual objects such as pieces of furniture or doors.

W. Burkert: We are fortunate to know that the Philia sanctuary was dedicated to Athena. Is it a coincidence that Athena is a patron of the craftsmen? In Athens the bronze-smiths venerated Athena at the festival Chalkeia.

K. Kilian: But we have other temple sites where there is bronze production, such as Olympia, Samos, Kalapodi, Asea, Sparta, Gela—and where the deities venerated are Hera, Artemis, etc.

Obéloi d'Argolide et d'ailleurs

par
Paul Courbin

La théorie relative aux obéloi de l'Héraion d'Argos, et qui avait été progressivement développée depuis Ch. Waldstein en 1902, I. N. Svoronos en 1906, puis Ch. Seltman en 1924, et encore en 1959,[1] avait été unanimement acceptée pendant près de vingt ans.[2] On peut la résumer brièvement comme suit : les obéloi argiens représentaient un véritable système protomonétaire (et non pas seulement antérieur à toute monnaie, « prémonétaire »), — avec une unité monétaire, la drachme, divisée en six sous-unités, les obéloi, d'une longueur et d'un poids déterminés, — fondé sur un étalon, mais susceptible d'être modifié (en l'occurrence, dévalué), cette protomonnaie étant convertible, et ayant été effectivement remplacée par les premières monnaies proprement dites, les fameuses « tortues » d'Egine, selon un taux de 1 pour 2000 :[3] cela en Argolide, ou dans les dépendances de l'Argolide, entre la fin du VIIIe et la fin du VIe s. av. J.C., date des premières émissions éginétiques.[4] Cette théorie vient d'être récemment remise en cause, de façon plus ou moins radicale, à deux reprieses, et chaque fois, comme il est parfaitement normal, à la suite de découvertes nouvelles, jugées incompatibles avec le système proposé.

En Italie d'abord, en effet, à Pontecagnano, près de Salerne, dans un cimetière « barbare », B. d'Agostino découvrit en 1966 deux tombes « princières » du second quart du VIIe s., qui contenaient chacune des obéloi (*Fig. 1* et *2*).[5] Or, certains de ces obéloi étaient d'un type différent du type « grec », et ceux qui étaient de type grec, — au nombre de dix, et non plus de douze, — n'avaient pas tous la même longueur.[6] Par suite, tout en reconnaissant que « si l'on avait pu démontrer l'existence d'un rapport précis entre le poids des broches et le système éginétique, il aurait fallu les considérer comme des objets protomonétaires »,[7] il en concluait que le diminution de longueur ne traduisait pas une « dépréciation » monétaire. A Samos ensuite, A.E. Furtwängler dégagea partiellement trois obéloi, accompagnés d'un bucrâne, qui paraissaient non pas massifs, mais creux (*Fig. 3*), et contenaient les restes d'une armature ou « âme » en bois : il en déduisait à son tour que la longueur des obéloi, ne donnant plus une idée exacte du poids, n'avait pas de signification particulière.[8] Les deux auteurs étaient alors conduits à mettre en doute la longueur attribuée aux obéloi de l'Héraion argien, et la possibilité même de la déterminer. Furtwängler allait plus loin : à son avis, les obéloi n'avaient jamais constitué qu'une « monnaie-matière », mesurable par la seule pesée; ils n'avaient jamais eu une longueur ni un poids normalisés; le fait qu'ils soient souvent retrouvés par multiples de 3, ou de 6, reflétait sans plus l'emploi d'un système de numération duodécimal; le prétendu étalon, — dont la forme différait considérablement de celle des obéloi, n'en avait jamais été un, il était d'ailleurs complet et non fragmentaire : c'était une simple masse de fer. Les textes allégués (*Etymologicum Magnum, Etymologicum* d'Orion etc.) avaient été surinterprétés. En réalité, pour l'un comme pour l'autre, la signification des obéloi retrouvés dans les tombes ou les sanctuaires n'était pas, sauf peut-être

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[1] Cf. Ch. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* I, p. 61, 77; I. N. Svoronos, *Journal Internat. d'Arch. Numismatique* 9, 1906, p. 192—202, pl. 10—12; Ch. Seltman, *Athens & its Coinage*, p. 117—122; P. Courbin, *Annales (Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations)* 1959, p. 209—234.

[2] Cf. par ex. G. Le Rider, *RevNum*, 6e sér., I, 1958, p. 205 sq.; H. Cahn, *Gazette Num. Suisse* 10, 1960, p. 21 sq.; Mado Oikonomidou, *AAA* 2, 1969, p. 436—441.

[3] Cf. *Annales E.S.C.* 1959, p. 226. Cf. ci-dessous, n. 44.

[4] Cf. Hélène Nicolet, *in Frappe & Ateliers monétaires dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Age*, Belgrade 1976, p. 6 sq. : au plus haut 530 av. J.C.

[5] Cf. Tombe principesche da Pontecagnano, *MonAnt*, série Miscellanea II, 1, 1977.

[6] Dans la tombe 926, deux obéloi fragmentaires se terminaient par une sorte de tube perpendiculaire, et la longueur des dix obéloi à palette variait de 1,38 à 1,61 m env.; la tombe 928 contenait également dix obéloi, longs de 1,35 à 1,62 m env. (mesures calculées d'après les fig. 4 sq et 15 sq. *ibid.*). Cf. *Annales E.S.C.* 1977, p. 12.

[7] Cf. *Annales E.S.C.* 1977, p. 11 sq.

[8] Cf. *Tainia* (Mélanges R. Hampe), p. 83 sq. & 87.

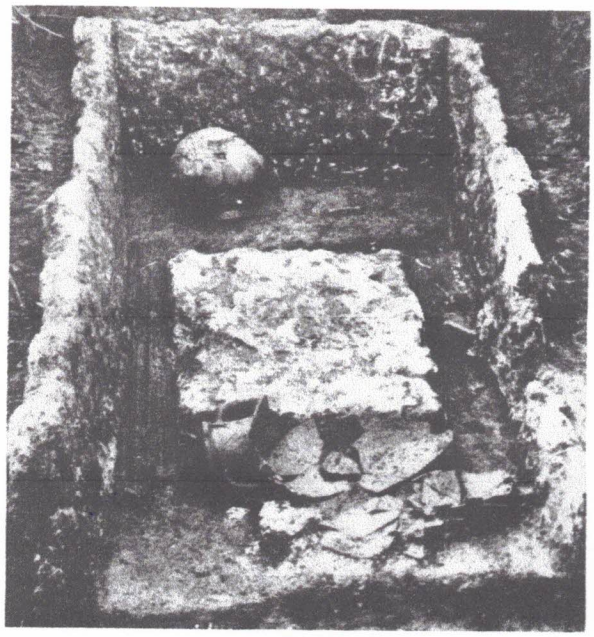

Fig. 1. Pontecagnano, tombe 926.

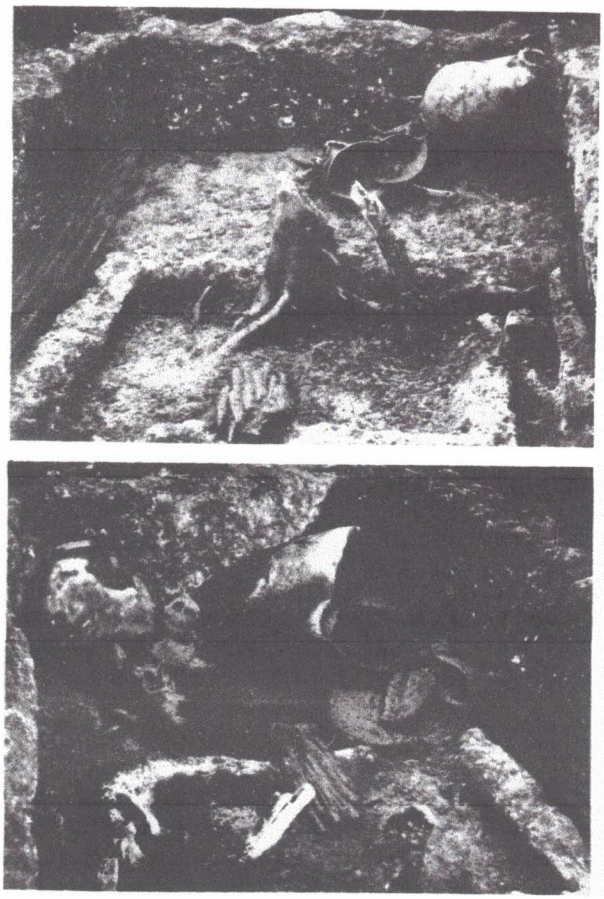

Fig. 2. *Ibid.*, tombe 928.

pour le « faisceau » de l'Héraion d'Argos, protomonétaire, mais symbolique : symbole de statut social, pour B. d'Agostino, symbole religieux, et plus précisément sacrificiel, pour A. Furtwängler.[9] La théorie antérieure, qualifiée de « moderne » et d'anachronique, devait être rejetée.

Ces positions soulèvent des questions de principe, et des questions de fait.

Il paraît clair, en effet, que pour l'un et l'autre auteur, l'interprétation symbolique, quel que soit le contenu du symbole d'ailleurs, exclut toute interprétation d'un autre type, utilitaire, ou protomonétaire, ou tout mélange de ces diverses interprétations : une offrande est un acte conscient, personnel, d'une nature non-équivoque.[10] Si un dédicant offre à la divinité les obéloi employés lors d'un sacrifice, qu'ils rappellent et représentent, il n'offre pas un don en espèces : et cela paraît très justement vu, incontestable et d'ailleurs incontesté. Mais il n'est pas moins incontestable, semble-t-il, qu'un objet quelconque, et notamment les obéloi, peut revêtir, successivement ou simultanément, plusieurs « significations » : ce n'est pas tomber dans l'éclectisme, dans une position « moyenne » de pseudo-juste milieu, que de voir dans les obéloi, selon les circonstances les plus univoques, tour à tour une broche à usage strictement culinaire, une éventuelle protomonnaie, ou le symbole d'un accès à la civilisation grecque, ou encore le souvenir ou l'image d'un sacrifice offert à telle ou telle divinité. Exactement de la même façon qu'une de nos pièces de monnaie actuelles peut, le cas échéant, servir de « tournevis » pour ouvrir un briquet, et, dans les minutes qui suivent, redevenir monnaie pour téléphoner. Il n'y a là — et c'est un point capital — nulle contradiction. C'est cette polyvalence qu'on appelle aujourd'hui polysémie.

Mais le point réellement fondamental est de savoir pourquoi Waldstein et après lui Svoronos, Seltman et après lui moi-même — quelles que fussent les divergences de point de vue sur tel ou tel point — avons pu partager cette interprétation protomonétaire que A. Furtwängler (mais non B. d'Agostino) paraît juger intenable. Ce n'est pourtant pas une invention gratuite. Elle ressort des textes, dont Waldstein avait dès 1902 cité le plus important : celui de l'*Etymologicum Magnum*, sous l'article ὀβελίσκος, auquel il faut tout de même bien revenir. Que dit ce texte ? « Le premier de tous, Phidon l'Argien battit monnaie à Egine; et, ayant mis le monnayage en circulation, il retira les obéloi et les dédia à Héra d'Argos; et comme alors les obéloi remplissaient la main, càd. la δράκα (poignée), aujourd'hui, bien que la drachme de six oboles

[9] Cf. *Annales* 1977, p. 17; *Tainia* p. 94—98.
[10] Cf. *Tainia*, p. 90.

ne fasse pas une poignée, nous l'appelons ainsi d'après δράξασθαι. » Ce texte paraît clair.[11] Certes, il semble peu probable—bien que le problème de sa chronologie ne soit toujours pas résolu[12]—que Phidon d'Argos ait régné à la date de 530, qui est maintenant admise pour les premières émissions de tortues d'Egine;[13] sans doute, l'étymologie proposée pour le mot drachme n'est-elle peut-être qu'une fausse étymologie.[14] Mais une chose au moins paraît vérifiée : la dédicace d'obéloi à l'Héraion d'Argos, puisqu'on y a précisément retrouvé ce faisceau d'obéloi. Surtout, ce qui importe, dans cet article tout entier « numismatique », c'est la relation d'équivalence qui est posée, sans que l'auteur prenne seulement la peine de l'expliciter, entre obéloi et monnayage : celui-ci remplace ceux-là, l'émission de l'un entraine le retrait des autres, les oboles se substituent en nombre égal aux obèles, et si l'étymologie est erronée, elle est, si l'on peut dire, d'autant plus indicative. Ne voir dans ces obéloi, comme le fait A. Furtwängler, que des ustensiles, évalués au poids du métal, dans un système primitif de troc,[15] au même titre que des trépieds, chaudrons, pélanoi ou haches, c'est semble-t-il, méconnaître le sens même du texte, tout ce qu'il implique, et ce qu'il tente précisément de nous transmettre.[16]

Bien entendu, si l'on veut ne lire dans ce texte, comme dans d'autres,[17] que la mention d'une poignée de broches à rôtir, d'un nombre variable, d'une longueur quelconque, n'ayant circulé que comme une monnaie-métal, ou dont le nombre indique seulement l'existence d'une numération duodécimale (mais la drachme actuelle et maintenant la livre sterling, rattachées au système métrique, n'en sont pas moins des unités monétaires), toute tentative d'organiser ce chaos ne peut être que dénuée de sens. Et c'est ce qui conduit à contester, contre toute évidence, les faits les mieux établis.

En effet, aussi bien B. d'Agostino qu'A. Furtwängler en viennent à soutenir que la longueur des obéloi de l'Héraion, non seulement n'est pas déterminée, mais n'est plus déterminable.[18] Or, cette longueur est non seulement déterminable, mais elle a toujours été déterminée. Elle a été mesurée dès la découverte, en 1894, et la mesure a été publiée en 1902 : elle était d'environ 1.52 m.[19] Certes, il serait absurde d'attendre à cette époque archaïque la précision d'exécution à laquelle nous a habitués la civilisation industrielle : mais une mesure approchée n'est pas une mesure inexacte, et moins encore une mesure inconnue.[20] Que l'examen des vestiges du faisceau initial, transporté à Athènes et endommagé par les manipulations, ait conduit Svoronos (et Seltman) à « inventer » une longueur inférieure, a été expliqué,[21] mais n'enlève aucunement sa valeur à la mesure prise *in situ*. Quant à l'affirmation que les obéloi du faisceau étaient de longueur variable, elle demanderait, c'est le moins, une démonstration, et va contre ce qu'indique la pho-

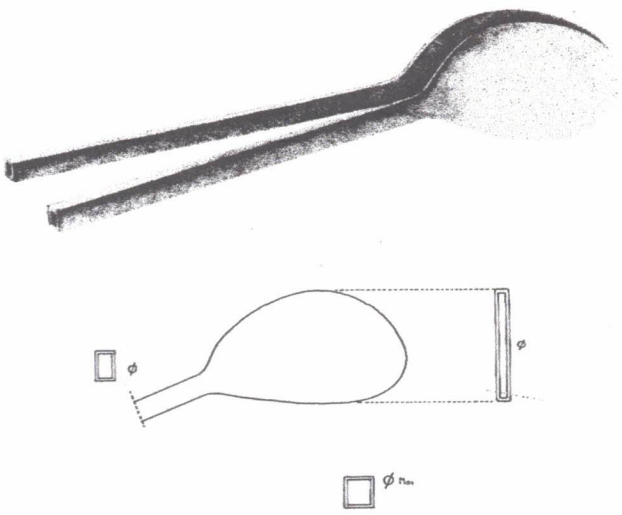

Fig. 3. Samos, restitution de deux obéloi, avec les coupes.

[11] L'*Etymologicum* d'Orion substitue à la première proposition le membre de phrase suivant : « Auparavant en effet on se servait légalement d'obélisques rigides pour le poids » (*s. v.* ὀβολός), la suite est identique. Mais si l'on s'en servait pour peser, c'est qu'ils étaient étalonnés (cf. Arist. *Pol.* X, Plut. *Sol.* 15). Nous ne voyons pas en quoi ce texte, dont A.F. fait grand cas *ib.* n. 60 p. 93, contredirait l'*Et. Magn.*, d'autant qu'il est lui-même d'avis, si nous comprenons bien, que le contenu du symbole est bien monétaire, cf. *ib.* p. 98.

[12] Cf. récemment Th. Kelly, *Hist. of Argos*, 1976, p. 111, 128 sq. (début VIe s.).

[13] Cf. ci-dessus n. 4.

[14] Car une main un peu grande pouvait parfaitement tenir plus de six broches à la fois.

[15] Cf. *l.l.* p. 94.

[16] Cf. ci-dessus n. 11.

[17] Ne serait-ce que Plut., *Lyc.*, 9, ou, à propos de l'offrande de Rhodopis à Delphes, Hdt., II, 134 sq : offrande antérieure, en tout état de cause, à l'apparition du monnayage en Grèce. Rhodopis n'était pas Argienne, certes, et il est fort probable en effet qu'elle n'a pas dédié des obéloi argiens : mais ici encore, le texte, de caractère nettement « financier », paraît bien poser une relation d'équivalence, de conversion possible, entre un nombre défini d'obéloi (celui qui a été dédié) et une proportion chiffrée (1/10) de ses biens. Cela dit, cf. ci-dessous.

[18] Cf. *Annales* 1977, p. 11; *Tainia* p. 93.

[19] Cf. *Arg. Her.* I, p. 77 : « about five feet », ce qui, en anglais est une mesure ni plus ni moins précise que, dans le système métrique « env. 1,50 m »; les autres mesures données en pieds (diamètre du faisceau, et, pour l'étalon, distance de l'extrémité à l'élargissement de la palette : dans les deux cas « env. 1 pied ») ne sont pas inexactes à plus de quelques cm. près (le diamètre indiqué pour le disque de plomb, légèrement supérieur à celui du faisceau, in *Annales* 1959, p. 223, doit être lu 0,34 m; la largeur — maxima — de la palette est située à 0,325/0,335 m — selon la face — de l'extrémité), soit ± 2,1/3,1 cm resp.

[20] Contrairement à ce qu'a l'air de penser B. d'Agostino, *l.l.* p. 11, à propos d'*Annales* 1959 p. 217 : l'objectif était de montrer que la mesure de Waldstein n'était pas absurde, « égale ou supérieure » était contenu dans des limites étroites : les mesures admettent une « marge relative » d'erreur de 1/150.

[21] Cf. *Annales* 1959, p. 214 sq.

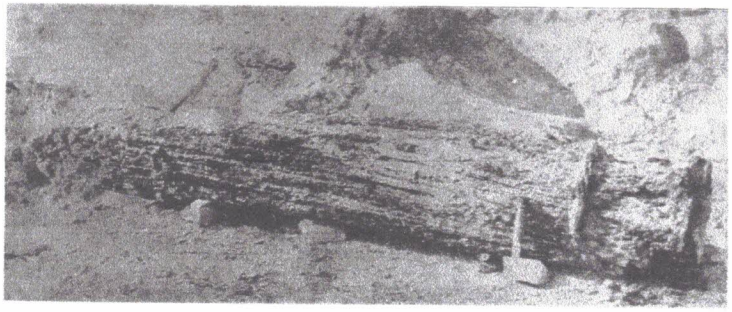

Fig. 4. Héraion d'Argos, le faisceau d'obéloi au moment de la découverte.

tographie prise immédiatement après la découverte et publiée (*Fig. 4*) :[22] s'il est vrai que le faisceau paraît nettement endommagé d'un côté de son extrémité « libre » (opposée à celle qui était prise dans du plomb), de l'autre côté, là où elle est conservée, cette extrémité donne l'impression d'un segment de cercle plan (*Fig. 4*). Svoronos indique même que les obéloi étaient ἰσομηκεῖς.[23] Et dans ces conditions, les différents types de « poignées » notés dès 1959, et qui peuvent en effet refléter des ateliers différents, loin de suggérer des variations de longueur, ne rendraient que plus significative l'uniformité de cette longueur,[24] comme celle de leur section, donc de leur poids. C'est sur ces prémisses qu'a été fondé,—par comparaison avec des obéloi complets, plus anciens et plus longs, trouvés à Argos en 1952,—le calcul du poids antique des obéloi de l'Héraion;[25] et c'est le poids de ces obéloi (et non pas de ceux d'Argos, comme le croit à tort B. d'Agostino) qui, rapporté à celui d'une obole d'argent éginétique, a permis de proposer un « taux de change » de 1 à 2000.[26]

Quant à l'énorme « barre de fer » qui accompagnait le faisceau d'obéloi à l'Héraion d'Argos, il s'agit bel et bien d'un « agrandissement », en quelque sorte, d'un obélos, d'un type il est vrai peu fréquent, mais matériellement attesté, contrairement à ce qu'assure A. Furtwängler : le gâteau de plomb qui bloquait le faisceau dans sa base de pierre[27] contient en effet l'extrémité carrée d'un obélos, dont la « palette » s'évase trois centimètres au-dessus (*Fig. 5* et *6*) : c'est exactement la forme de la prétendue « barre de fer » (*Fig. 7*), dont on ne voit pas très bien, soit dit en passant, ce à quoi elle aurait pu servir ni pourquoi elle aurait eu précisément cette forme.[28] Elle a bien d'autre part, été cassée : si la comparaison des deux extrémités ne paraît pas un argument assez convaincant (*Fig. 8* et *9*), les macrophotographies d'un minuscule prélèvement, effectué en 1959, montrent sur la longueur de la barre un martelage totalement absent à l'extrémité (*Fig. 10* et *11*). Il peut donc bien s'agir d'un étalon, de forme et de longueur comparables à celles des obéloi du faisceau[29] et Svoronos était tout à fait fondé à en proposer cette interprétation.[30]

Enfin, une autre question de principe se pose : il semble, aussi bien pour B. d'Agostino que pour A. Furtwängler, que le seul fait de trouver, à Samos ou à Pontecagnano, des obéloi de longueur ou de structure différente, suffise à ruiner la théorie proposée. Or, et A. Furtwängler l'indique lui-même très clairement, un système monétaire ne vaut que dans une zone de circulation définie,[31] et, ajouterons-nous, à une période donnée. Cela étant, personne n'a jamais soutenu que le système attribué à Phidon ait valu pour

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[22] Cf. *Arg. Her.* I, fig. 31 p. 61.

[23] Cf. *Journ. Internat. d'Arch. Numismatique*. 9, 1906, p. 196. Si, p. 197 il dit que « la plupart » des obéloi avaient la même longueur, le chiffre qu'il donne — 1,20 m — montre qu'il ne s'agit que des fragments conservés alors.

[24] Il avait bien entendu été envisagé que les obéloi aient pu être de longueur variable : l'idée avait été écartée, pour les raisons indiquées ci-dessus et n. préc. et faute de preuve contraire.

[25] Cf. *Tombes Géom. d'Argos* I, p. 11, 13, 136 (Tombe 1, Géom. Récent 2 b, càd. 720—715 av. J.C., cf. *Cér. Géom. Argolide* p. 177). La longueur moyenne est d'env. 1,65 m (et non 1,60 m ou 1,70 m, cf. resp. *Annales* 1977, p. 12 et *Tainia* p. 85), cf. *Annales* 1959, p. 220. La seule supposition du calcul, qui paraît légitime, est que la corrosion était la même d'un bout à l'autre d'*un* obélos : cela posé, le poids actuel d'un fr. d'env. 9,1 x 1,05 x 1,05 cm (non raccordé) a été comparé à son poids d'origine (calculable), et le rapport obtenu a permis de chiffrer le poids antique de l'obélos complet. Puis, sans que la corrosion intervienne aucunement désormais, une « règle de trois » a donné le poids antique de l'obélos (plus court) de l'Héraion. Le principe de ce mode de calcul ne paraît pas avoir été compris. Il paraît le plus exact possible, étant donné les variations de la section, de la pointe à la palette, sans parler de la garde (ou « butée ») ni de la palette.

[26] Cf. *Annales* 1977, p. 11 : la comparaison de l'obole d'argent éginétique avec le poids d'obéloi autres que ceux de l'Héraion ne répondrait plus au texte de l'*Et. Magnum*. Au contraire, la comparaison entre ces derniers et l'obole éginétique ne se fait plus entre « deux réalités relativement distantes dans le temps », mais, bien que la date précise soit inconnue, à une date qui ne peut être très différente des premières émissions, soit 530, et à laquelle les obeloi qui allaient être retirés avaient, par hypothèse, encore cours.

[27] Cf. *Annales* 1959, p. 223 et n. 19 ci-dessus.

[28] Cf. *Tainia*, p. 93. L'avant-dernier obélos de la tombe 926 de Pontecagnano, *l.l.*, fig. 5, a pu avoir cette forme (cf. le *profil* latéral).

[29] Etalon de *longueur*, s'il mesurait 1,50 m; en ce cas, son poids, actuellement de 73 kg pour (1,188 m, d'après Seltman) ± 1,194 m d'après nos mesures, aurait été 91,7 kg. Mais il ne s'agissait pas nécéssairement d'un étalon également de poids, pas plus que pour le mètre en platine iridié du pavillon de Breteuil à Sèvres : ce poids représenterait en effet, et encore approximativement, quelque 46 obéloi d'env. 2 kg, soit un nombre fractionnaire de drachmes.

[30] Cf. *JIAN* 9, 1906, p. 198, où il était considéré toutefois également comme un étalon de poids.

[31] *Op. cit.* p. 89.

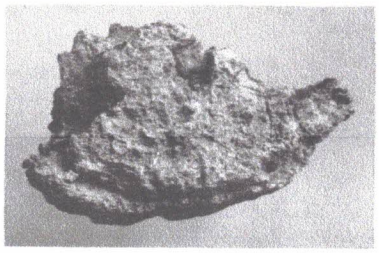

Fig. 5. *Id.*, fragment de la couche inférieure de plomb, montrant l'extrémité carrée d'une palette d'obélos.

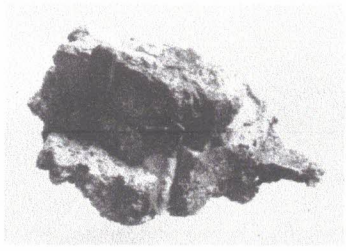

Fig. 6. *Id.*, vu verticalement: la tige carrée s'évase pour former la palette, incomplètement conservée.

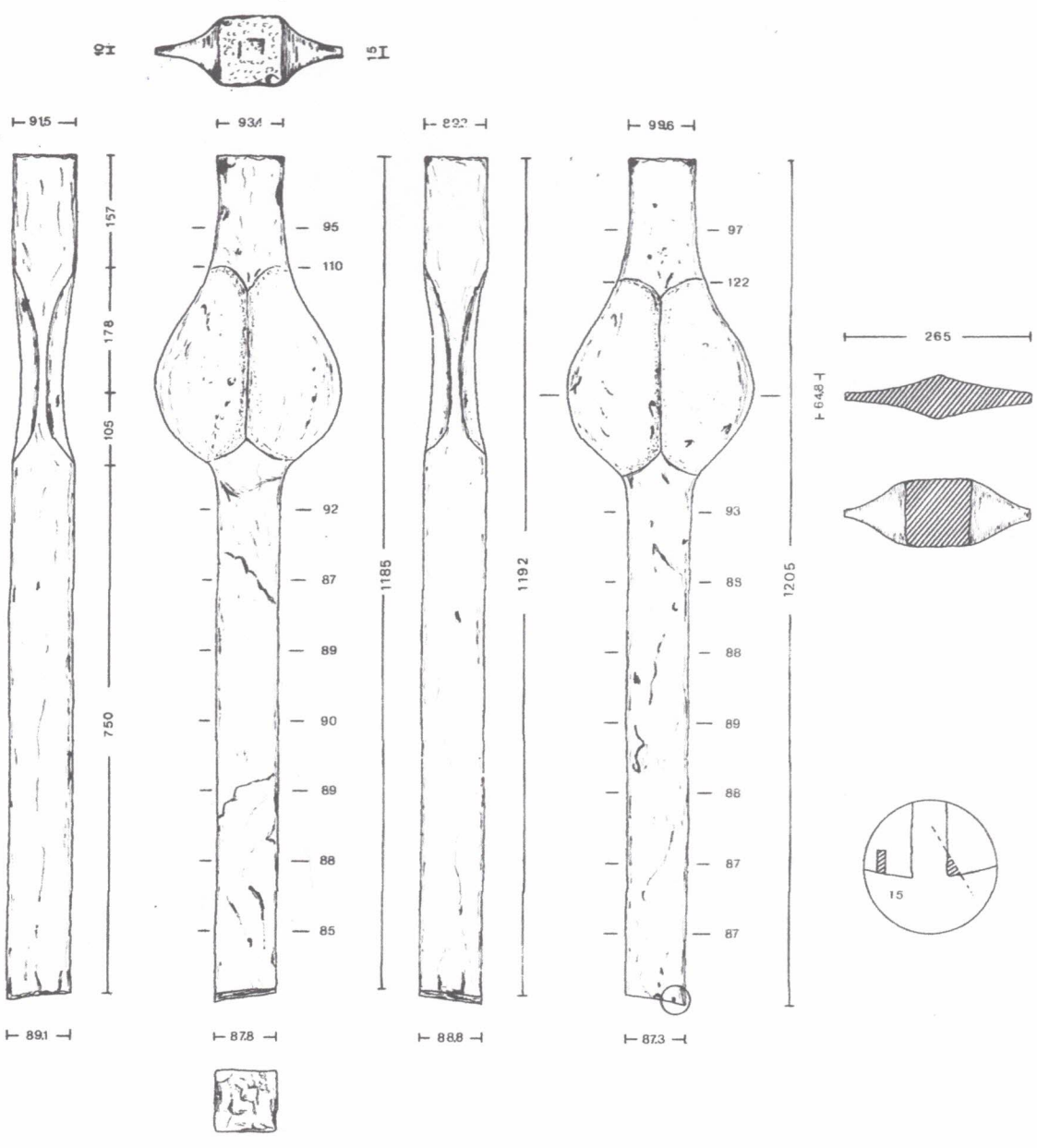

Fig. 7. Héraion d'Argos: l'étalon, faces, sections (1:10), emplacement du prélèvement. Dessin de F. Braemer.

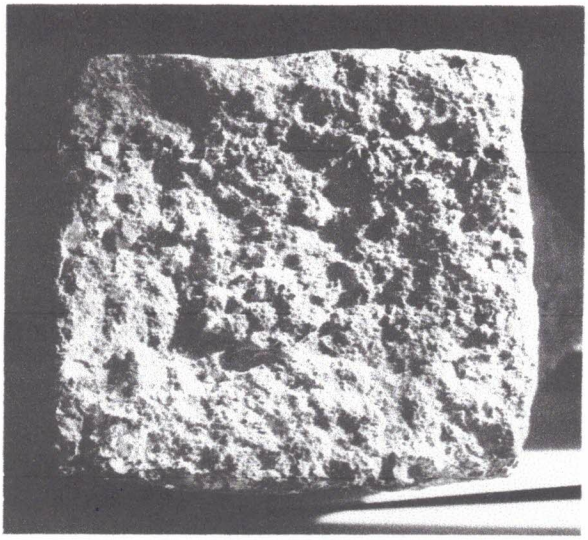

Fig. 8. *Id.*, extrémité intacte de la palette.

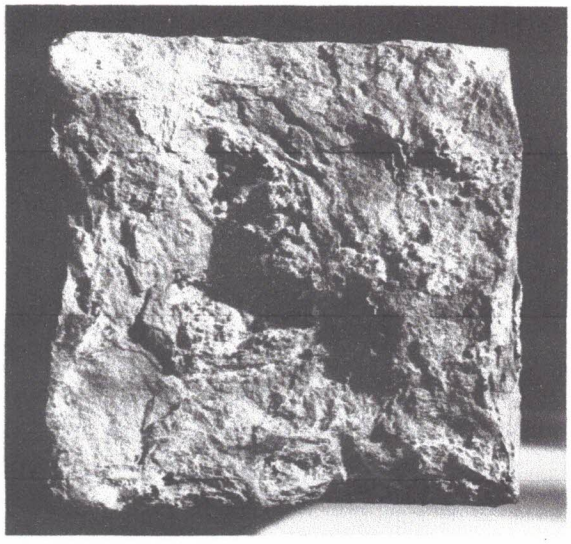

Fig. 9. *Id.*, extrémité brisée de la tige.

d'autres régions que l'Argolide ou les territoires sous influence argienne. Cela aurait supposé une unification, une centralisation bien étrangère à ce qu'on connaît de la Grèce à cette époque. On est tout à fait en droit de penser, au contraire, que les choses allaient différemment à Samos, et *a fortiori* à Chypre ou plus encore en Italie « barbare ». Une exception pourrait être Paestum, en Grande Grèce cette fois, à la fondation de laquelle passaient pour avoir participé des gens de Trézène, et dont le sanctuaire était dédié à Héra Argiva, précisément : c'est la raison pour laquelle nous avions cru pouvoir faire entrer en ligne de compte les obéloi du *tempietto*, bien que leur interprétation ne fût pas protomonétaire au premier chef (pas plus d'ailleurs que dans les tombes),[32] parce qu'ils fournissaient un bon *terminus ante quem* (devenu maintenant beaucoup moins important, puisqu'il coïncide presque avec la frappe des premières tortues). Mais d'une manière générale, il n'est aucunement nécessaire au maintien de la théorie que le monde grec tout entier se soit conformé au modèle argien dans ce domaine.

Cela dit, on remarquera tout de même que les obéloi chypriotes, quel que soit leur type, ont parfois pour longueur celle des obéloi de l'Héraion.[33] Quant aux obéloi de Samos, il faut noter qu'ils n'ont jamais (du moins à notre connaissance) été complètement dégagés, et que leur longueur est inconnue : il serait piquant qu'elle fût la même. Surtout, il est permis de nourrir quelques doutes sur la structure creuse qui leur est attribuée : si l'on comprend bien, il aurait fallu chaque fois tailler un modèle préalable en bois, d'une section de moins d' 1 cm^2 pour la haste, et de quelque 3 mm d'épaisseur seulement pour la palette, puis marteler sur cette « âme » de bois une bande de fer, chauffée au rouge :[34] dans de telles conditions, le bois s'enflamme instantanément, et le martelage très puissant, nécessité par le forgeage du fer semi-pâteux, aurait écrasé la baguette, même en bois dur, plutôt qu'elle n'aurait donné sa forme au métal. En réalité, et sous réserve d'une identification du bois prétendûment utilisé, la cavité observée peut s'expliquer tout autrement : par la transformation complète du fer en magnétite, suivie de la pérégrination des « ions » de fer vers l'extérieur, comme on en a plus d'un exemple.[35] Il a pu en être de même sur le parallèle allégué à Chypre (dont on nous dit d'ailleurs qu'elle était riche en fer : et n'avait donc guère besoin de faire cette économie de métal) et qui constitue une exception dans le groupe considéré;[36] la technique de fabrication des douilles, qui achevaient ces obéloi et recevaient une poignée en bois, est d'ailleurs tout autre.[37] Enfin, les obéloi de type grec de Pontecagnano sont moins bien conservés qu'il n'est dit, comme on peut s'en rendre compte d'après les illustrations : on voit que beaucoup d'entre eux sont cassés à l'une ou l'autre des extrémités et sont donc incomplets, ce qui

[32] Cf. U. Kron, *JdI* 86, 1971, p. 144 sq, qui précise bien toutefois que l'interprétation « pratique » et l'interprétation religieuse ne s'excluent aucunement (p. 133). De même, le terme de « drachme » employé pour les T. 1 et 45 d'Argos n'implique pas du tout que le caractère de l'offrande, dans ces tombes, soit monétaire, cf. *BCH* 81, 1957, p. 370, même s'ils représentaient d'autre part une « valeur » monétaire: contrairement à ce que paraît croire A.F. *l.l.* n. 31 p. 88.

[33] Cf. *BCH* 94, 1970, p. 38, 41 (tombe 79 de Salamine).

[34] Du moins faut-il le supposer : on voit mal comment ce travail aurait pu s'effectuer à froid, autour de cette mince baguette de bois, et on devrait voir en coupe la suture.

[35] Cf. *TGA* p. 136 et n. 5. Un autre fragment, appartenant à la T. 1 d'Argos, long de 7,6 cm, présentait la même particularité, alors que tous les autres fragments étaient pleins, massifs.

[36] Cf. *BCH* 94, 1970, fig. 6.

[37] Sur la technique, cf. *Hesperia* 49, 1980, p. 360 sq. (feuille de tôle mise en forme sur enclume puis soudée à la partie massive).

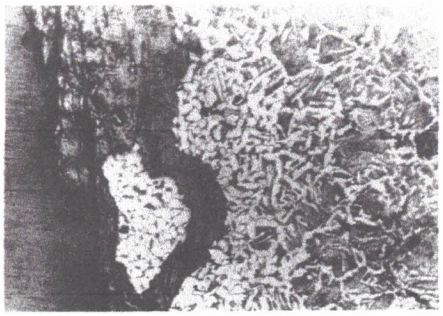

Fig. 10. *Id.*, face latérale du prélèvement, macrophotographie (grossissement 1 x 80). Cliché A. France-Lanord.

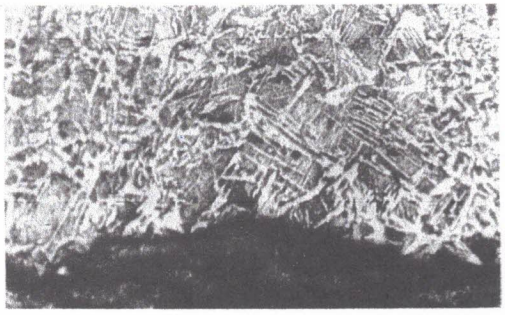

Fig. 11. *Id.*, face inférieure du prélèvement. Le grain du métal est beaucoup plus gros que sur l'autre face.

pourrait être le cas de ceux-là même qui paraissent intacts (*Fig. 12*).[38] Autrement dit, il ne serait pas absolument impossible qu'à l'état neuf ils aient eu la longueur non pas des obéloi de l'Héraion, mais celle, supérieure (± 1,65 m)[39] des obéloi de la tombe 1 d'Argos, de l'époque géométrique récente. Toutefois, répétons-le, il n'est aucunement nécessaire que ces obéloi, pas plus que ceux de Samos, aient été conformes au modèle argien : si un système de poids et mesures, et notamment un système monétaire, peut déclencher un processus d'entrainement et se propager dans des régions voisines, ou liées par divers types de relation, il peut en être tout autrement, comme on le voit à l'époque classique, où chaque cité à la limite peut avoir ses étalons propres.

Ce qui, en revanche, constituerait un argument dirimant pour la théorie protomonétaire, ce serait la découverte, en Argolide même, d'obéloi non conformes au schéma proposé pour les VIIe—VIe s. Cette éventualité ne peut évidemment être exclue. Il faut constater toutefois que ce n'est pas le cas à ce jour : il est vrai que les trouvailles d'époque archaïque sont extrêmement rares, et même inexistantes s'agissant de spécimens complets, utilisables pour la démonstration. Au contraire, pour la période géométrique récente, on a trouvé à Argos en 1972 une tombe de guerrier, contenant un casque-masque, deux lances, un cratère, le tout recouvert par six obéloi, dont les palettes sont un peu plus effilées que celles de la Tombe 1 d'Argos.[40]

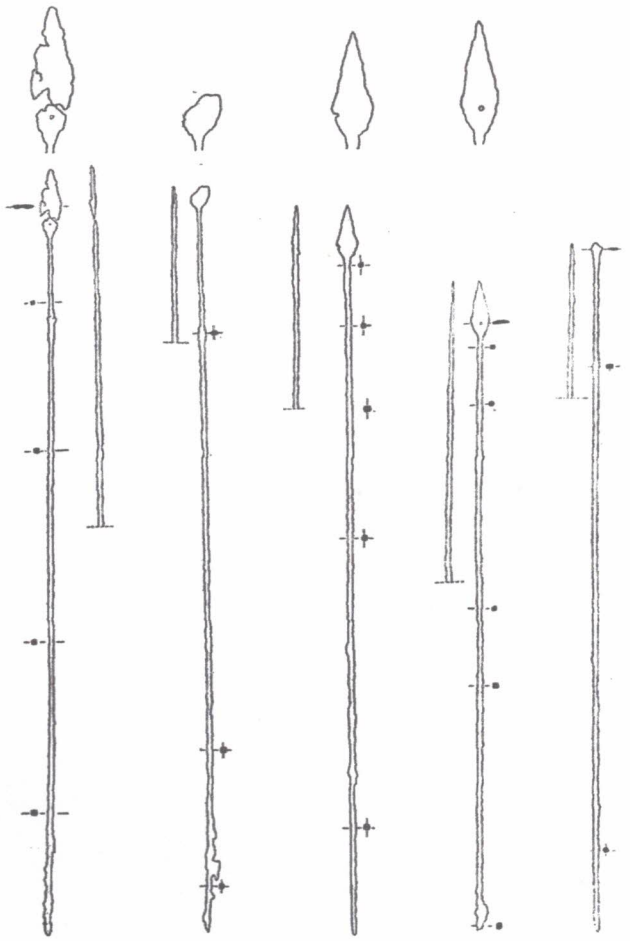

Fig. 12. Pontecagnano, obéloi de la tombe 928.

Mais la longueur de ces obéloi est la même.[40a] Cette tombe était située au Nord d'Argos, alors que la Tombe 1 se trouvait tout au Sud : or, à cette époque, on observe à Argos une certaine sectorisation de la production, en tout cas en ce qui concerne la céramique.[41] S'il en allait de même pour la métallurgie, l'identité de longueur entre les deux drachmes d'obéloi aux deux extrémités de la ville confirmerait l'hypothèse qu'une sorte de normalisation des obéloi avait déjà eu lieu à Argos à la fin du VIIIe s. av. J.C.,[42] sur la base d'une longueur de 1,65 m (càd. 5 pieds de 0,33 m) et d'un poids de plus de 2 kg.[43] Bien loin que la standardisation des obéloi de l'Héraion soit une nouveauté inimaginable, elle aurait eu un précédent, et ne

[38] Par ex., dans la tombe 928, l'exemplaire fig. 16, milieu, plus court (1,52 m ?), mais moins épointé que fig. 15, mil. (1,624 m).

[39] Cf. ci-dessus n. 25. Ils n'en sont guère éloignés dans le temps.

[40] Cf. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, *les Tumuli d'Argos*, 1980, p. 43, tombe XVII (18) et fig. (tumulus Γ).

[40a] Communication de l'Auteur (Juillet 1980).

[41] Cf. J-F. Bommelaer, *Ktêma* 3, 1978, Strasbourg, p. 44 sq.

[42] Cf. *Annales* 1959, p. 225.

[43] Env. 2,2 kg, cf. *ib.* p. 222 (2,189 kg).

représenterait, comme il avait été suggéré,[44] qu'une dépréciation, une « dévaluation » : le passage à un pied de 0,30 m et à un poids d'env. 2 kg.

Certes, B. d'Agostino et A. Furtwängler ont raison de rejeter « les perspectives modernistes qui nient la spécificité du phénomène archaïque »[45] ou les « constructions modernes » : cela va de soi. Mais il serait plus fâcheux encore de se refuser à voir les structures déjà très évoluées qui sont effectivement attestées à l'époque archaïque : d'autant que la signification de ces systèmes protomonétaire ou monétaire ancien (et c'est un point sur lequel des progrès véritables et significatifs ont été faits depuis vingt ans) n'était certainement pas celle qui commencera à prévaloir à partir de la fin du Ve s., avec les premières émissions de petites divisions en bronze, — et moins encore celle de nos sociétés modernes.[46] Mais les implications économiques, sociales et politiques d'un tel système protomonétaire, s'il était confirmé par des découvertes supplémentaires, seraient très importantes et devraient être prises en compte par les historiens. Quoi qu'il en soit, dans la longue tradition des échanges de troc, qui remonte haut dans le temps et s'étend loin dans l'espace, l'Argolide apporterait peut-être une remarquable innovation à la fin de la période géométrique : l'instauration d'une véritable protomonnaie.

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Discussion

K. Kilian: In tombs of Argos and from Pontecagnano in S. Italy we have firedogs together with the spits, and therefore it is clear that they were used for meat. But what is also important is the social custom of supplying persons of high social standing with such spits. In Pontecagnano, the buried man is a barbarian but is buried according to Greek customs.

P. Courbin: I totally agree that the obeloi were used for meat in the tombs and had no monetary value in this context, but that does not exclude the possibility that they were used as a proto-monetary system.

W. Burkert: As a philologist I can say a few words about the linguistic testimony for the monetary system. 'Obelos' and 'drachme' are terms used in Athens at a later date. 'Obelos' means spit and 'drachme' means a handful, so I see no other possibility than that which you proposed of how one meaning changed into the other.

A. Johnston: The crucial point is whether these terms were in use when coinage was introduced to mainland Greece after 550, because we must surely reject the tradition that Pheidon had introduced coinage earlier. I also wonder, if the Aeginetan system of weights had any relation with the spits, since their area of diffusion is similar.

O. Murray: As a historian I would like to support P. Courbin's interpretation. There is no doubt at all that there was a monetary system based on spits before the introduction of coinage. The only problem arises as to when the system began; and the importance of P. Courbin's communication is to show that there was already a standardization of spits in the Argolid in the Geometric period, which shows how long they were in use. In a pre-monetary system you may use objects of a non-standard value for exchange: tripods, cows, etc. But when you have objects of a standard weight and length, you have arrived at a true proto-monetary system.

R. Hägg: It may be that obeloi were put in tombs for practical reasons in association with firedogs, but then why are they found in groups of six? Is there any meaning behind that number?

P. Courbin: I agree with A. Furtwängler on this point that the number six has no special meaning. The Greeks used the duodecimal system and we can expect to find objects in groups of six, twelve, etc. For example, in grave T.1 in Argos there were also twelve cups.

K. Kilian: I wonder if the obeloi found in graves in Italy in groups of three and on the mainland in groups of six together with firedogs should not be studied from the point of view of funeral meals and the implication of the social significance that such customs had.

J. N. Coldstream: Some remarks on chronology: in Argos Mrs. Deilaki has excavated a grave with six obeloi and pottery apparently earlier than that of your grave 1. At Knossos we have at least two tombs with obeloi which may be earlier than any of the Argos examples, although these tombs contain pottery from many successive burials and so it is not easy to date the obeloi precisely.

P. Courbin: I would not be surprised if the weight of the Cretan obeloi conformed to the Argive standard. The Pheidonian system of weights was allegedly spread beyond the region of the Argolid. On the other hand it would not surprise me very much either if they had different weights.

J. N. Coldstream: Since the figure of Pheidon is so shadowy, do we have to believe that weights were standardised by him in the Argolid?

P. Courbin: Pheidon's chronology is shadowy, but still our literary tradition points to the Argolid.

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[44] Cf. *ib.* p. 228.
[45] Cf. Annales 1977, p. 10; *Tainia* p. 94.
[46] Cf. par ex. J-M. Servet, *Essai sur les origines des Monnaies*, 1979, p. 14 sqq, 93 sqq, 140 sqq.

An 8th Century Goldsmith's Workshop at Eretria

by
Petros G. Themelis

In recent years excavations carried out by Swiss and Greek archaeologists at various places in the modern town of Eretria have almost uncovered the picture of the ancient city. After a considerable gap which follows the Mycenaean era and for which we lack for the moment any information, traces of a settlement appear again at about the middle of the 9th century B.C.[1] The second half of the 8th is the period of *floruit* for the new settlement. Apsidal and oval but also rectangular structures have been revealed, especially near the coast. We are fairly sure however that the whole area between the sea and the rocky hill of the acropolis, bounded on the east and west by the two arms of a torrent, was relatively densely inhabited. In the sanctuary of Apollo a long apsidal *hekatompedos* was erected, close to a horse-shoe building known as the 'Daphnephoreion' and constructed before the end of MG.[2] Sometime between 715 and 690 B.C. the triangular Heroon was erected, near the later West Gate and over a group of child inhumation burials and another of warrior cremation burials, probably associated with some event during the last and most critical period of the Lelantine war.[3]

We have clear evidence that the east torrent caused serious trouble to the 8th century settlement. Thick and extensive deposits of sand and pebbles have been found along the axis Apollo temple—Agora; they are the result of floods that threatened the east section of the city. That is probably the reason for the construction of a long retaining-wall that supported the south side of the water-course. A considerable part of this strongly built, double-faced, 'Cyclopaean' wall, dated to the late 8th century B.C., came to light during the excavations I have been carrying out for the Archaeological Society since 1974 within building-plot 740 to the north of the temple of Apollo (*Fig. 1*).[4] Over the last seven years a complex history of settlement has been revealed in this plot, lasting from the Geometric to Late Roman times.

Our Late Geometric retaining-wall is certainly associated with a similar wall found by the Swiss at the West Gate and dated by them to the same period.[5] A sub-Geometric burial-amphora, which was found in 1979 resting on the inner face of the retaining-wall, now gives us a secure *terminus ante quem* for its construction.[6] We have reason to believe that this strong wall was not built simply to support the right bank of the torrent, but also to serve as a fortification. It surrounded the Late Geometric city and protected it not only from catastrophic floods but also from invasions. This wall, however, which may well be associated with the last critical period of the Lelantine war (like the warrior-burials of the West Gate) did not manage to save Eretria, which shortly after 690/80 B.C. was no longer a great commercial power. In this connection we have to mention here the insignificant quantity of Orientalizing (7th century) pottery that has been found in the city, as well as the complete absence of 7th century architecture.[7]

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[1] P. Themelis, 'Ανασκαφὴ στὴν 'Ερέτρια, *Praktika* 1976, pp. 75—76, Pl. 39*a*; idem, 'Ερετριακά, *ArchEph* 1969, pp. 143—144; D. Knoepfler, 'Οφρυόεσσα 'Ερέτρια, *AntK* 12, 1969, pp. 83—87; L. Kahil, "Contribution à l'étude de l'Érétrie Géométrique", in: *STELE, volume in memoriam N. Kontoleon*, Athens 1979, p. 527; A. Andreiomenou, Γεωμετρικὴ καὶ 'Υπογεωμετρικὴ κεραμεικὴ 'Ερετρίας, *ArchEph* 1975, pp. 206—229, Pl. 52*a*; O. Murray, *Early Greece*, Brighton 1980, p. 76.

[2] Cl. Bérard, "Architecture érétrienne et mythologie delphique, la Daphnéphoreion", *AntK* 14, 1971, pp. 59—62; P. Auberson, "Le Daphnéphoreion", *AntK* 17, 1974, pp. 60—68; J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977, pp. 322—324, Fig. 104*a*.

[3] Cl. Bérard, *L'Hérôon à la Porte de l'Ouest*, Bern 1970 (= *Eretria* 3), pp. 65—70.

[4] P. Themelis, *Praktika* 1974, pp. 38—39; 1976, pp. 74—76, Pl. 37*b*; 1978, pp. 19—21, Figs. 1—2; 1979, pp. 43—50, Pl. 28*b*, Figs. 4—5.

[5] Cl. Bérard, "Topographie et Urbanisme de l'Erétrie Archaïque: l'Hérôon", in: *Eretria* 6, Bern 1978, p. 93, n. 28, Fig. 13; Cl. Krause, *Das Westtor*, Bern 1972 (= *Eretria* 4), pp. 11—15, Figs. 1 *and* 4, Plan 2.

[6] P. Themelis, *Praktika* 1979, pp. 51—52, Fig. 4, no. 2.

[7] With the exception of the Early Archaic temple of Apollo Daphnephoros and the 'Eretrian' Orientalizing burial amphorae.

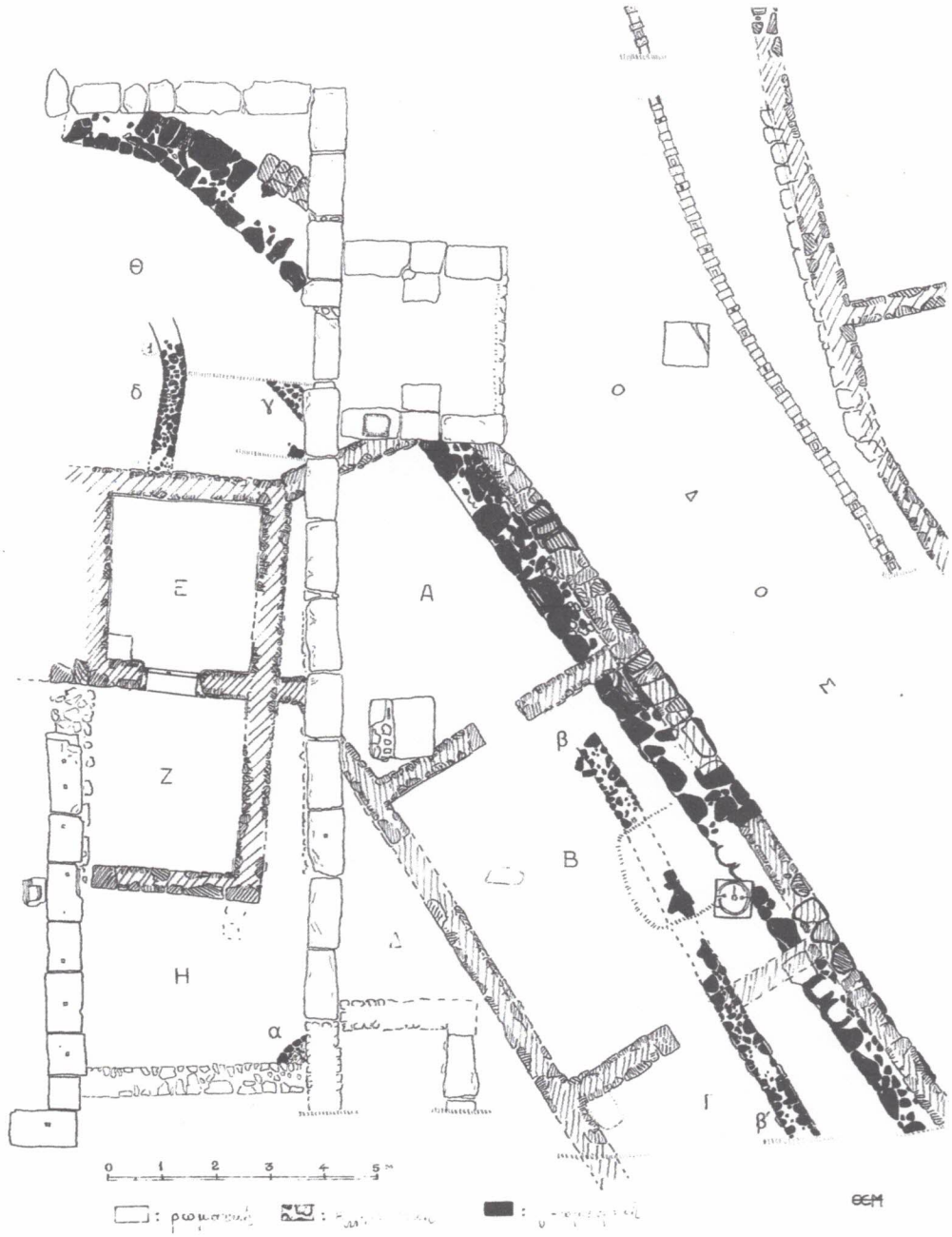

Fig. 1. Eretria, building plot 740. Plan of SW section of excavated area. Geometric, Hellenistic and Roman phases.

In conclusion, I think that (*a*) despite the doubts of R. Martin and Cl. Rolley, Cl. Bérard was rather right to assume the existence of fortifications at Late Geometric Eretria,[8] and (*b*) it was probably the Lelantine war that caused the temporary eclipse of Eretria during the first half of the 7th cent. B.C., as well as the final and total abandonment of Lefkandi.[9]

In 1980 a further season of excavation in the SW section of the area under investigation (building-plot 740) brought to light important Geometric finds (*Fig. 1*). The NW continuation of the Geometric retaining-wall was completely uncovered. Its width gradually diminishes and the wall finally stops, allowing perhaps the opening of a gate. In the area a curved stone wall (δ) has been partly revealed, belonging to an apsidal or oval house, whose superstructure was of mud-brick (*Fig. 2*). Its south part lies underneath room E of a Hellenistic building. Trial trenches have assured for the moment two Late Geometric layers, rich in hand-made as well as a fine painted pottery (*Fig. 3*). The apsidal house is related to the latest Geometric phase or layer. In the inner side of the apse, be-

[8] Bérard (supra n. 6), pp. 91—94.

[9] M. R. Popham - L. H. Sackett, "Historical Conclusions", in: *Lefkandi* I, Athens and London 1980, p. 369.

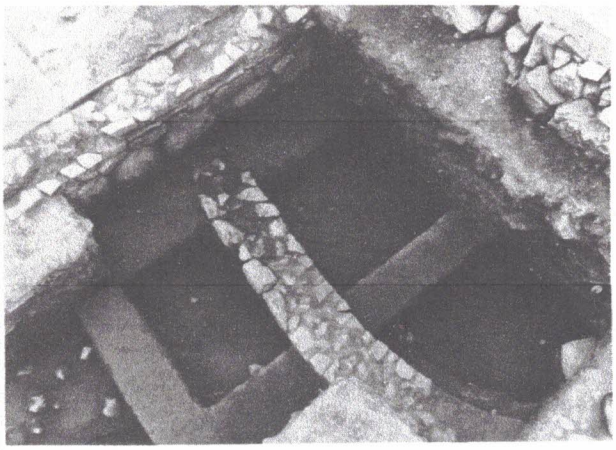

Fig. 2. Part of Late Geometric apsidal or oval building. View from the NE.

Fig. 3. Late Geometric sherds from the apsidal building.

Fig. 4. The Late Geometric skyphos with the gold hoard.

Fig. 5. Goldsmith's hoard in the Late Geometric skyphos.

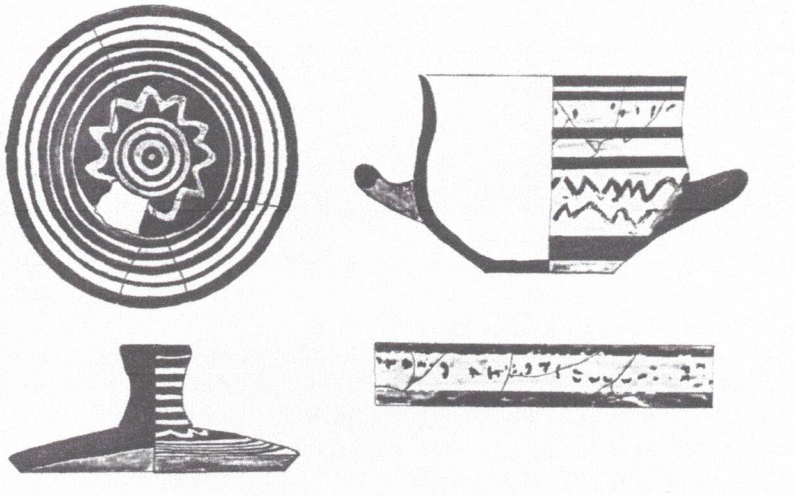

Fig. 6. Drawing of the skyphos, the lid and the painted inscription (E. Lempidaki).

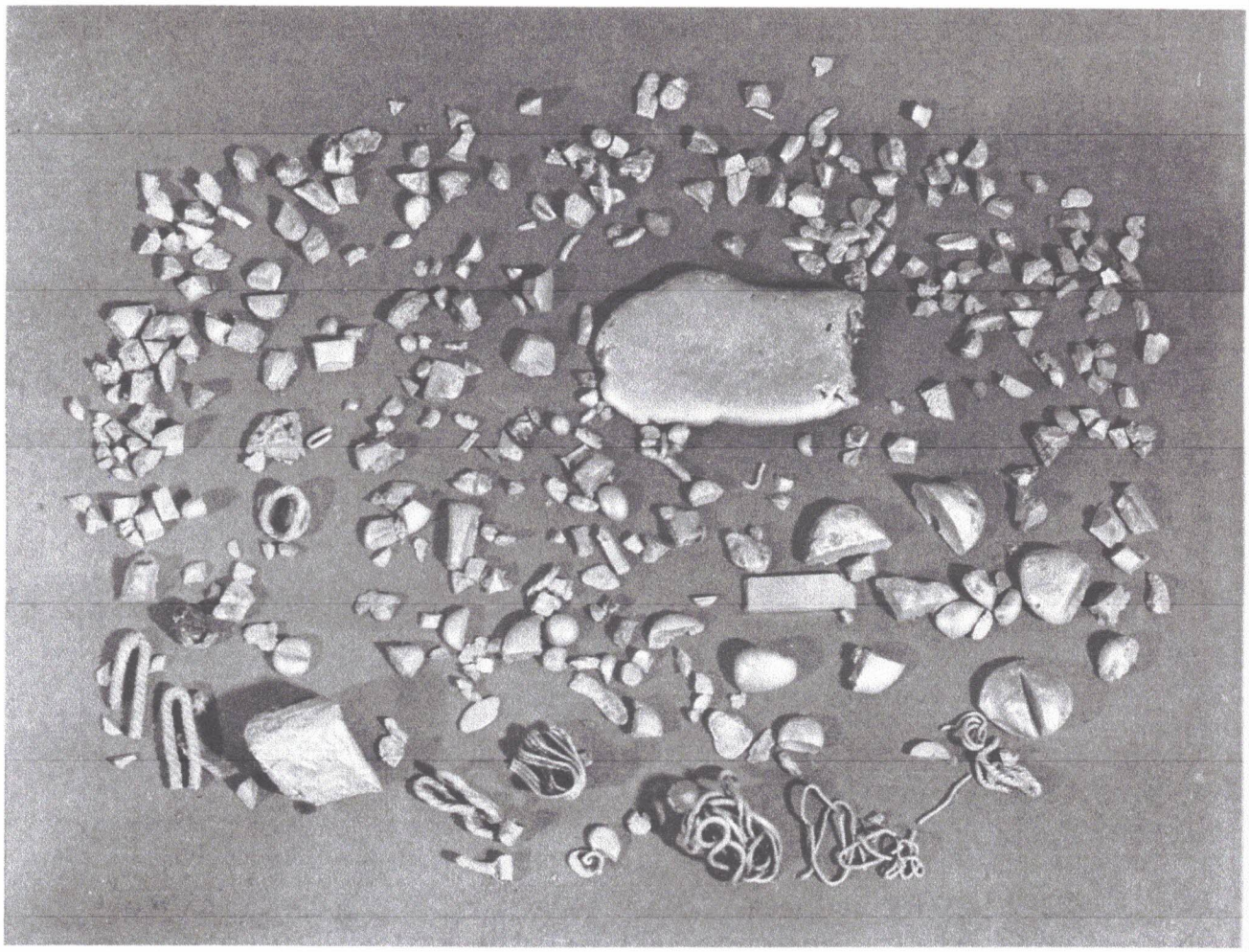

Fig. 7. General view of the hoard. Gold ingots, globules, lumps and distorted pieces of jewellery.

low the foundation wall (at point 1), a cracked but complete skyphos with a heavy lid was uncovered *in situ* (*Fig. 4*). The lid certainly belongs to a larger vase. The skyphos carries a plain decoration of parallels with wavy or zig-zag lines on the lower zone and an indistinguishable motif on the upper zone, which might be a painted retrograde inscirption (*Fig. 6*). It reminds us of a fragment of krater found under the foundation of structure II in the Mazzola area at Pithekoussai, which preserves a portion of a panel showing the upper part of a winged creature (sphinx?) and above it, enclosed between two horizontals, a painted retrograde inscription: . . .] ινος μ' ἐποίεσε[.[10] Not only the dipinto but also the style of the Pithekoussai krater is closely related to our Eretrian skyphos, which can be dated in the last decade of the 8th century B.C.

In the Museum of Eretria, when we removed the lid and poured out the contents of the skyphos, we felt a unique excitement. A large number of gold ingots and some pieces of electrum, in a very great variety of forms and sizes, as well as distorted pieces of jewellery, came to light (*Fig. 5*). Total weight: about 510 grammes. We had in front of us a unique and most precious find: the hoard of a goldsmith, a founder's hoard, carefully kept in the vase and concealed under the floor, close to the wall of the building. Some approaching danger (flood or invasion?) forced the owner to hide his gold and flee away to save his life. He never came back to continue work with it. The circumstances are comparable to those of about 1200 B.C. that caused the hoarding of tools and various precious metal objects in Mycenaean citadels.[11]

All the basic elements from which ancient jewellery was made, that is sheet metal, wire and cast metal, are present in the hoard, all in various stages of the working process (*Fig. 7*). We know that the final stage in the preparation of gold, both for trade and working

[10] G. Buchner, "Recent work at Pithekoussai 1969—1971", *ArchRep* 1970/71, p. 67, Fig. 8.

[11] Th. Spyropoulos, Μυκηναϊκοὶ Θησαυροί, Athens 1972 (Archaeological Society Publication No. 72), p. 210.

purposes, was to melt it down and cast it in moulds of stone or clay into blocks or small ingots.[12] From the traces on the ingots we may also assume the principle tools employed were hammer, chisels etc.[13]

Our largest ingot is almost oval in shape but quite irregular. It measures 5.5 x 3.45 cm and is 5 mm thick, weighing 112 gr. One end is cut off. One side is smooth, the other is rough and bubbly (*Fig. 8, a—b*). It is comparable to the larger copper and bronze slab ingots found in the Phoenician shipwreck of 1200 B.C. at Cape Gelidonya. According to G. Bass all the slab ingots were the most likely to have served as currency.[14]

Two of our ingots, one complete with a deep groove in the middle and one half, must have been cast in sea-shells (*Fig. 9, 2—3*), They measure about 2 x 1.9 cm and weigh 25.65 and 13.8 gr respectively. At first sight one might think they were talents of gold of definite weight and value used as medium of exchange, and relate them to one gold talent and two half-talents found in the cemetery of Old Salamis in Cyprus and dated to the 11th cent. B.C.[15] In the Homeric Age, although gold, like silver and copper, was used for articles of merchandise rather than as a medium of exchange, still, a talent of gold appears to have been a piece of metal of definite weight (8.5 gr) and it may have had a conventional value equal to an ox or cow.[16] In Homer half a talent is also mentioned (Ψ751 a). The base metal equivalent to this little gold piece was a large oxhide-shaped ingot of copper.[17] However, the extremely great variety of form and the indefinite size and weight of all our ingots are a serious argument against their connection with talents of gold as medium of exchange and trade.

A breadlike ingot weighing 2.6 gr (85 x 75 mm, 4 mm thick) also has a groove in the middle (*Fig. 9, 1*). We cannot say what kind of mould was used in this case or in the case of more than 35 similar ingots cut in halves or quarters of various sizes and weights (*Figs. 10* and *11*). The largest two among them weigh 14.3 and 11 gr respectively. Total weight 75 gr.

Another group of 13 ingots almost round in form, two complete, the rest in halves, have been hammered to become flat like coins (*Fig. 12*). Their edges are cracked. Their thickness varies from 2—4 mm. Total weight 11.4 gr.

There is another large group of irregularly cut pieces of ingots (*Fig. 7*). Total weight 139.4 gr. The largest measures 20 x 7 mm and is about 4 mm thick. The original form of these pieces is no longer recognisable. The same happens with 50 pieces of the same category that have been recognised as an amalgam of gold and silver, i.e. electrum. The percentage of silver in the amalgam varies. Total weight 36.75 gr.

Finally, there are 9 gold globules (drops) (*Fig. 13*), the largest mesauring 1.35 cm x 95 mm, the smallest 35 x 35 mm, and another group of 40 shapeless tiny pieces, flat, uneven and porous (bubbly) lumps (*Fig. 7*).

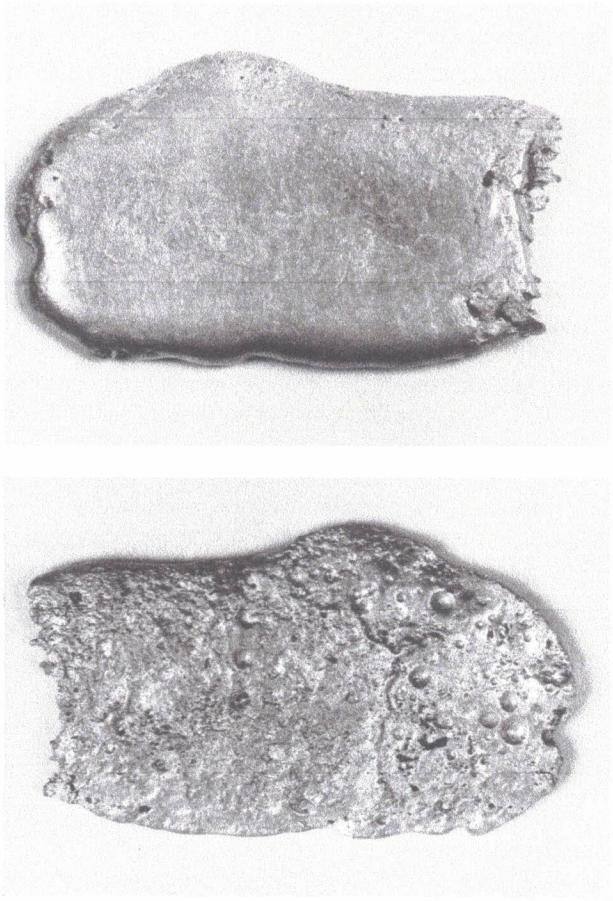

Fig. 8 *a—b*. Lower smooth side and upper bubbly surface of the largest gold ingot.

In conclusion we think that our polymorphous ingots should be regarded as mere pieces of gold melted down and cast in various forms by the Eretrian goldsmith himself. We may even suggest that the same craftsman was also refining reef-gold or alluvial gold by the process, known since the Bronze Age, of cupel-

[12] R. H. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, London 1961, p. 4.

[13] Something of no particular interest, since from the 2nd millennium B.C. the technical process of the goldsmith remained basically unchanged, except that after the end of the Bronze Age, iron to some extent supplanted stone and bronze; see Higgins (supra n. 12), p. 8.

[14] G. F. Bass, *Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck* (= *TAPS* 57,8), Philadelphia 1967, p. 82, Figs. 96—97.

[15] Ch. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, London 1965[4], p. 5; W. Ridgeway, *Origin of the Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, Cambridge 1892.

[16] Ridgeway (supra n. 14), pp. 7—8.

[17] T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, N.Y. 1965[2], pp. 288—289. Cf. Bass (supra n. 14), pp. 52—78.

lation, which was secondary for gold and essential only for silver.[18]

In connection with this we have to mention here the workshop for extracting and refining gold that was found at Sardis in 1968 close to (south and west of) a Lydian sacred precinct, containing a rectangular stone altar.[19] The workshop was in operation in the second half of the 6th cent. B.C. A large group of shallow clay basins sunk into a burnt earth floor or gravel layer was used for purifying gold by cupellation. In the same level were found fragments of gold foil and globules and irregular lumps of gold. Two sets of small furnaces have been cleared, yielding brick slag and pottery with driblets of gold in its cracks, fragments of gold foil and pieces of clay bellows-nozzles. The furnaces were probably used for cementation (the separation of gold and silver), necessary at Sardis since Pactolus gold is actually electrum.

This extremely important Lydian 6th-century workshop was unique up to now and the only one comparable to the much earlier goldsmith's hoard of Eretria.[20] Structures II—IV, excavated 1969—1970 in the Mezzola area at Pithekoussai (Ischia), and more or less contemporary to our apsidal building (750—675 B.C.), are concerned with metal working, especially iron, bronze and lead, but not gold.[21]

As stated above, our hoard contained not only ingots and globules of irregular lumps, but also distorted pieces of jewellery, most of them fragmentary. One of the most important among them is an unusually large piece of gold foil with traces of embossed patterns and figures, folded tightly and distorted for remelting purposes, weighing 10.65 gr. (*Fig. 14*). It was recently unfolded and proved to be a large diadem with a projecting tongue.[22] It carries a badly preserved repoussée decoration (a chariot, warriors and a lion have so far been identified).

More than seven diadems of the same type, the so-called '*Zungendiademe*', come from Eretria.[23] A similar one in the Goulandris collection was found on Skyros.[24] The examples known to D. Ohly were all assigned to a local Eretrian workshop. The new diadem found by Cl. Bérard in the inhumation tomb 12 of the West Gate is dated between 700—680 B.C. and is thought to have been made in a Cypriot (?) imported mould.[25]

The only common element that unites the 'Eretrian' diadems is the frontal tongue, but this alone cannot be taken as secure evidence for their common Eretrian origin or place of manufacture, since the Skyros example is characterized by the central projection, too.

The style of the relief figures of our diadem is not clear yet, so we are not able to say if the mould was imported from elsewhere, as is usually the case. But even before studying the style of the reliefs we can say with certainty that the diadem was made, i.e. hammered, pressed on the mould and cut, by the Eretrian goldsmith in the Late Geometric period, a short time before the whole hoard was concealed in the LG skyphos.

The cast gold band or plaque 2.4 cm long, 8 mm wide and 2 mm thick, cut on both ends (*Fig. 15 a*), may represent the first stage of the process in making a gold diadem similar to the above but smaller. It weights 5.7 gr.

Fragments of twisted bars or wires of various thicknesses are also present in the hoard (*Fig. 15 b*). An

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[18] Higgins (supra n. 12), pp. 3—4; O. Davies, "Bronze Age Mining around the Aegean", *Nature* 130, 1936, p. 985; G. Eissler, *The Metallurgy of Gold*, 1900; R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, Leiden 1950, pp. 140—145; idem, *Studies in Ancient Technology* VIII, 1971, pp. 155—160.

[19] G. M. Hanfmann, *Letters from Sardis*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, pp. 230—234, Figs. 172—179; W. J. Young, "The fabulous Gold of the Pactolus Valley", *Boston Museum Bulletin* 70, 1972, pp. 5—13; S. M. Goldstein, "Reconstruction of the Lydian Gold Industry", *BASOR* 228, 1977, pp. 53—57. All references I owe to the kindness of Professor Homer Thompson.

[20] In a dump in the level beneath the cupellation basins was found a sherd with a graffito tentatively read as KUVAV, i.e. Cybele; see R. Gusmani, *Kadmos* 8, 1965, pp. 158—161. It is not yet clear if the Eretrian workshop is related to a sanctuary like the Lydian one. The Phoenician metal workshops of Kition and Enkomi as well as the similar Archaic-Classical workshop of Tamassos, are closely related to the sanctuaries of Astarte-Aphrodite and Cybele; see H.-G. Buchholz, "Tamassos, Zypern 1970—72", *AA* 1973, pp. 361—366 and n. 134; idem, "Tamassos-Zypern 1974—1976, 3. Bericht", *AA* 1978, pp. 165—168, n. 27. Workshops were also found close to the south side of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria; see I. Konstantinou, *Praktika* 1955 (printed 1959), pp. 128—130.

[21] G. Buchner (supra n. 10), pp. 65—66, Figs. 4—5; Coldstream (supra n. 2), pp. 226—and 311; Murray (supra n. 2), p. 14; J. Klein, "A Greek Metalworking quarter, Eighth Cent. Excavations in Ischia", *Expedition* 14, 1972, pp. 34—38. The bronzesmith's workshop (foundry) of Lefkandi is dated around 900 B.C.: M. R. Popham and L. H. Sackett, "The Other Finds", in: *Lefkandi* I, pp. 95—97. See also V. R. d'A. Desborough, "Fragmentary pottery and a stone mould", in: *Lefkandi* I, p. 279: Fragment of open mould of micaceous schist from the Gully Fill of Skoubris Cemetery, dated to the SPG I—III period.

[22] L. 33.7 cm. W. 3 cm, H. with frontal tongue 6.3 cm.

[23] K. Kourouniotes, "Goldschmuck aus Eretria", *AthMitt* 38, 1913, pp. 289—293; W. Reichel, *Griechisches Goldrelief*, Berlin 1942 (Schriften zur Kunst des Altertums 5), Catalogue Nos. 24—28; E. Kunze, *Gnomon* 21, 1949, p. 4; D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche des 8. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Berlin 1953, pp. 5 and 101—106, E1—E6; Cl. Bérard (supra n. 3), pp. 36—45, Fig. 13, colour Pl. B1—B2, Pl. 13. Cf. R. Laffineur, "Collection Paul Canellopoulos: Bijoux en or", *BCH* 104, 1980, pp. 370—372.

[24] L. Marangou, "Collection Dolly Goulandris. I, Bijoux en or", *BCH* 99, 1975, p. 370, No. 12 and pp. 375—378. This Skyrian gold diadem was pressed three times on one circular mould, which was not at all suitable for the decoration of narrow strips. The same mould was used for the repoussée decoration of the gold plaques Nos. 13 and 14. Less than half of the complete round motif is preserved on all these gold ornaments. Cf. Bérard (supra n. 3), p. 38, lines 26—31. Ohly (supra n. 23), Pl. 14,2, Fig. 27: diadem No. 11720 (E5) with circular motif with two warriors fighting on the projecting frontal tongue. All the relief foils published by Marangou (Nos. 9—14) must have been made in the same local Skyrian workshop not earlier than the second half of the 8th cent. B.C.

[25] Bérard (supra n. 3), pp. 42 and 44, n. 3.

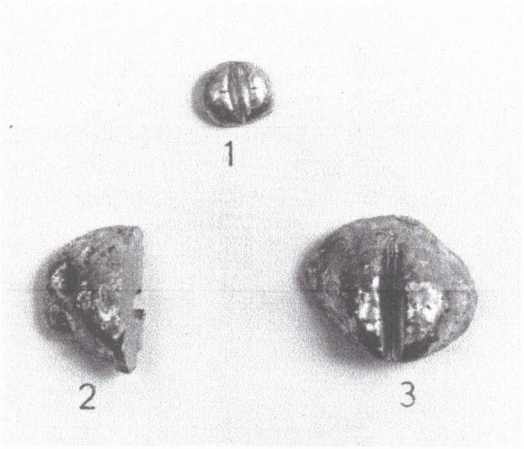


Fig. 9. (1) Bread-like ingot with central groove. (2—3) A half and a complete ingot cast in seashells.

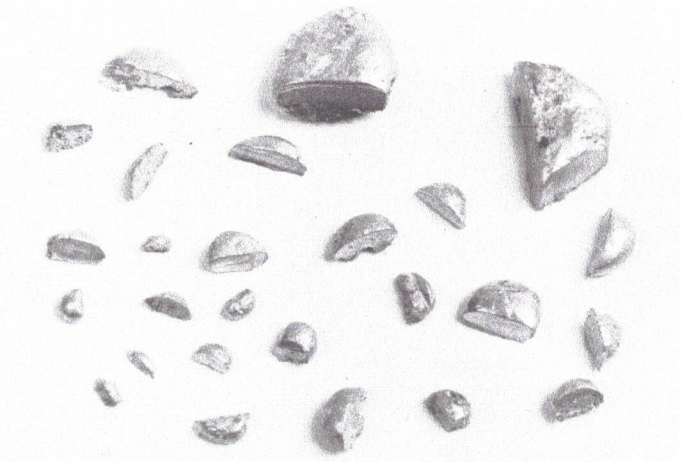


Fig. 10. Various pieces of gold ingots (halves and quarters).

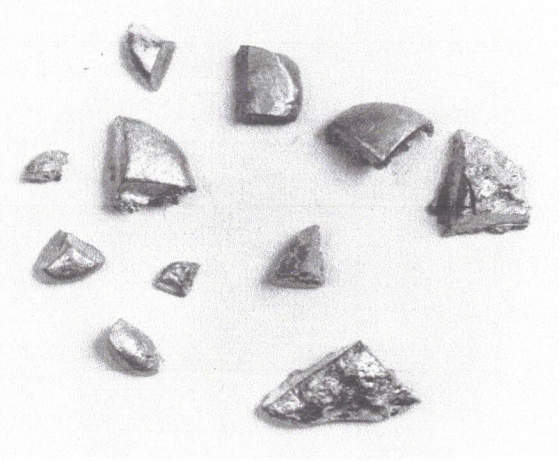
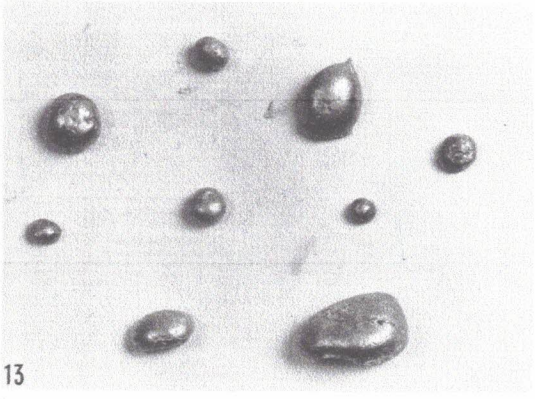
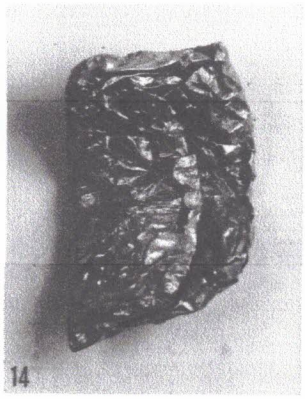


Fig. 11. Various pieces of gold ingots (halves and quarters).

Fig. 12. Round flat ingots. Two complete with cracked edges.





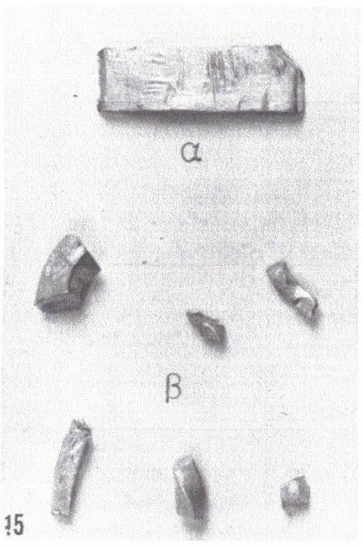
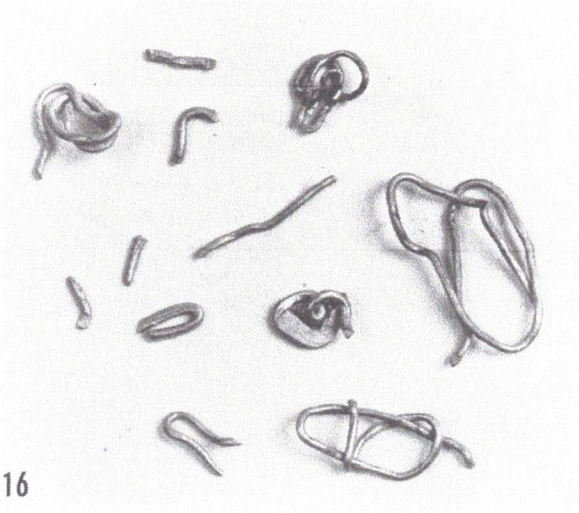


Fig. 13. Nine gold globules.—Fig. 14. Large gold diadem, folded and distorted for remelting purposes.—Fig. 15*a*. Gold plaque. *b*. Fragments of twisted gold bars.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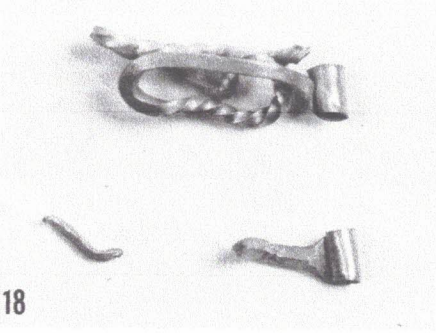
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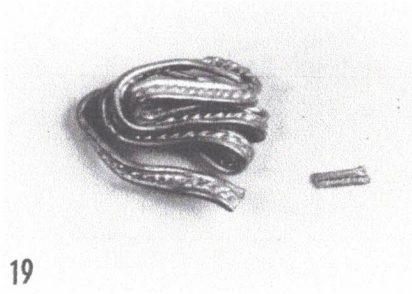
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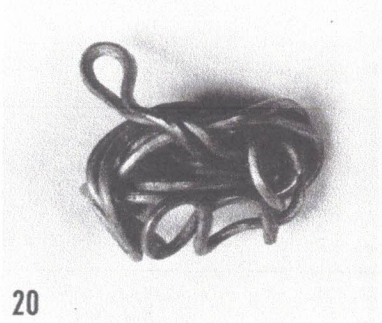
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Fig. 16. Fragments of gold thin wire.—Fig. 17. Fragments of twisted wire.—Fig. 18. Fragments of gold fibulae made by block-twisted wire.—Fig. 19. Gold band composed by three wires.—Fig. 20. Gold pendant made by double looped wire.

unusual and precious piece of jewellery is a double looped wire, weighing 10 gr. (*Fig. 20*). It is badly distorted and has lost its original shape, nevertheless it shows that the Eretrian goldsmith was not without originality, imagination and good taste in his work. We may also say that he was familiar with the wire-making technique as the presence of 12 fragments of thin wire, less than 1 mm thick, as well as fragments of twisted wires of various thickness, indicate (*Figs. 16* and *17*). A piece of a delicate band is composed of three wires: two plain on the edges and one twisted in between (*Fig. 19*). Two fragments of fibulae are made by block-twisted wire (*Fig. 18*). The catch-plate is small and triangular. They belong to the type II*f* of Mrs Sakellarakis' new classification,[26] of which some earlier Submycenaean examples of bronze have been found in Lefkandi.[27] The type dates from Submycenaean to the Early Archaic period. In Lefkandi only one gold fibula, EG II in date and of a hitherto unknown type, has been found.[28]

Throughout a period of nearly three centuries from Submycenaean to MG I (*c.* 1100—825 BC) the quality and quantity of the jewellery at Lefkandi remained surprisingly high.[29] Most of it must have been locally made. Unfortunately we lack any evidence, so far as jewellery is concerned, for the subsequent period from 825 to the final and total abandonment of Lefkandi in about 700 B.C. There are no burials known for this phase corresponding to the contemporary material (exclusively pottery) from the site of Xeropolis.

[26] E. Sapouna-Sakellarakis, *Die Fibeln der griechischen Inseln*, *PBF* XIV, 4, München 1977, pp. 49—51, Pl. 7, No. 211.

[27] H. W. and E. Catling, "Objects of Bronze, Iron and Lead", in: *Lefkandi* I, pp. 235—236, Pl. 247, Nos. 12, 15, 16.

[28] R. A. Higgins, "Jewellery, Seals and Other Finds", in: *Lefkandi* I, p. 222, Pl. 231*c*.

[29] Higgins (supra n. 28), p. 217.

This is the reason we cannot yet find the links between the 9th century jewellery from Lefkandi and the 8th century jewellery from Eretria, although there is no doubt that they existed, as the almost identical pottery of the Geometric period from both sites indicates. Future excavations will undoubtedly fill the gap; nevertheless, even now gold ornaments from Skyros help to anticipate the missing links, since they reveal close relations with Lefkandi on the one hand (compare esp. the puzzling gold attachments, but also the bands and rosettes) and with Eretria on the other (tongue-diadem).[30]

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Discussion

A. Andreiomenou: In my excavations at Eretria I found a plain gold diadem of the Eretrian type with a tongue pattern dating from the first half of the 8th century. This testifies to an early local workshop before the Oriental influences began.

A. Johnston: A comment about standardization and/or social development. P. Themelis has shown us some ingots. Now G. Buchner found at Pithekoussai a weight in an early 7th-century context and thinks that it was used in the manufacture of precious objects. That weight is on the Attic standard. It may be tempting to interpret the lumps from Eretria at 5.7 and 112 gr. as being on the Euboean standard, which is different from that at Pithekoussai; but it may well be a temptation to be resisted. The artisan must have been independent of his customers. If he were in a client position, there would be no obvious reason why he should produce jewellery conforming to any given standard.

General Discussion on Metal Votives and Metal Working

C. Rolley: Having talked mostly about Mycenaean survivals and revivals, we now get another important side of the picture: influences from the North. The Philia workshop produced weapons of types that are known further North, and a bronze workshop existed at Kalapodi. Products of such workshops in Central Greece have reached Delphi in the eighth century. Do you accept the following scheme: that Corinthian bronze objects, birds, horses exported to Central and Northern Greece were imitated there and the imitations were again sent to Delphi? One would have to distinguish at Delphi between genuine Corinthian objects and Corinthianizing from the North. This means that we may attach less significance to the ancient influence in Southern Greece in the development of the 8th century.

K. Kilian: We should produce a map of regional Corinthian imitations and developments with the Corinthian style as a base. Regarding the origin of the bird type, we have Mycenaean examples: bird with horns (Gerakion: Shaft-Grave Peroid), "*Vogelbarke*" (Pylos, Tiryns painted: LH III B/C and C). The discussed links with the Central Balkans and Italy are suffering in this case less by chronological complications than iconographic ones. We should accept a Mycenaean double bird motive like the nest of griffins (Lefkandi, alabastron) which might have influenced the so-called Macedonian pyxidae pendants of Early Iron Age date.

J. N. Coldstream: One of the interesting points raised by C. Rolley could be expanded further in the context of the *ethnos/polis* distinction. The *ethne* are remarkable chiefly for their votives in metal, whereas the *polis* lands produce the main ceramic styles. In the *ethnos* lands there are several sanctuaries where metal objects are commoner than pottery. It would therefore be natural that each of those sanctuaries had its own workshop for the manufacture of suitable votives in a traditional local style. To Kalapodi and Philia one could add the Arcadian sanctuaries, which have produced local types of fibulae and of bronze animals. Likewise an Elean school of bronze animals has been identified at Olympia. At the same time the *poleis* were not inactive in this field: for example, the Corinthian type of bronze horse was much admired and imitated in *ethnos* lands at the very time when Corinthian pottery, too, inspired local imitations.

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[30] Marangou (supra n. 24).

Two Demographic Notes

by
A. M. Snodgrass

The size of Lefkandi

Just a year ago, I published some crude calculations of the approximate size of the population represented by the cemeteries so far excavated at Lefkandi.[1] Although no criticism of the results has yet appeared in print, I know from outraged private reactions that they will be unfavourably received in many quarters. But in the last year, the publication of the text volume of the Iron Age at Lefkandi[2] has made it possible to test and improve these calculations in the light of the excavators' own observations, which are naturally much better informed than my own; while even more recently, the newspaper reports of the resumed excavations of spring 1981 have heavily underlined a central point in our appreciation of Lefkandi. It is clear that, on present showing, this site housed one of the most active, outward-looking and even prosperous communities in central and southern Greece in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C. A building 45 metres long—whether temple or no—and a rich burial with sacrificed horses are, for the years around 900 B.C., sufficiently arresting phenomena in their own right. Any indication, however provisional, of the quantitative basis for such achievements will have implications for the rest of the Greek world. It is difficult ever to be sure that an excavated site is "average" or "representative" for its period, but somewhat easier to recognise one that is outstanding.

Twenty years of intermittent activity in the area, by the excavators and others, and the discovery of five separate burial-grounds, make Lefkandi virtually the only choice for a dark age site with reasonably comprehensive cemetery and settlement evidence. By the standards of the period, Vincent Desborough's view that "the total (sc. of burials) is thus exceedingly impressive"[3] is no exaggeration; indeed it was he who first suggested to me the possibility that this evidence might have a demographic application, after I had attempted to do something similar for Attica. The calculations in *Archaic Greece* were founded on the assumptions (*a*) that the graves excavated represented a substantial proportion of the total number of burials made in their period at Lefkandi, and (*b*) that a life-expectation of thirty years at birth might approximate to, and would certainly not be an underestimate of, that which prevailed in the period. I did try to emphasize the provisional nature of assumption (*a*), but perhaps rather inadequately, by speaking of 'the *extant* graves'. Now the publication fo the Lefkandi volume makes it possible to refine assumption (*a*), and to express oneself in terms of cemeteries rather than individual graves; while at the same time it shows that assumption (*b*) greatly *over*-stated the true figure.

Of the five cemeteries discovered, that reported in the field of A. Khaliotis remains too little explored to be useful for the present purpose,[4] and will be excluded from now on. Of the Skoubris cemetery, the excavators' estimate is that 'no more than a quarter of the whole cemetery'[5] may have been excavated. For Palia Perivolia, by contrast, the fairly clear definition of the cemetery boundaries enabled them to assume that something like two-thirds had been excavated and that its full complement would have been perhaps sixty burials.[6] In the East cemetery, only four tombs and three pyres were excavated, but the plan at pl. 76(*a*) of the volume suggests that this can hardly have been a very extensive plot, since it is so very narrow from east to west (a little over 5 metres in the stretch examined). The Toumba cemetery, finally, as pl. 76(*b*) shows, is of a very curious shape with two parallel strips best explained as flanking a track or road. It does not seem to extend much further north, south or east, but since surface sherds and slabs were

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[1] *Archaic Greece: the age of experiment*, London 1980, p. 18.

[2] *Lefkandi* I: *the Iron Age: Text*, ed. by M. R. Popham and L. H. Sackett, with P. G. Themelis, London 1980 (*Plates* volume, London 1979). Hereafter abbreviated as '*L*'.

[3] *The Greek Dark Ages*, London 1972, p. 189.

[4] *L* p. 101.

[5] *L* p. 103, with plates 74—75.

[6] *L* pp. 104, with plate 76(*a*), and 101.

found 50 to 80 metres further west, near the summit of the Toumba hill, it seems fair to assume that the strips may have extended continuously as far as that.[7] The excavated strips have an average length of about 15 metres, so that possibly one-fifth of the total extent has been discovered.

The presence of the pyres as well as the tombs makes any quantitative estimate hazardous,[8] since it is quite uncertain how many of the pyres represent the same cremations as were later placed in the extant tombs. It seems best to follow the excavators' compromise of taking the dated groups, whether tombs *or* pyres, as the units of enumeration. These give a total of 138,[9] whereas all the tombs and pyres counted separately come to 227. However, there are also a number of undated *tombs*[10] which do after all represent known disposals presumably within the same general period; and since they outweigh the 25 dated *pyres* included in the figure of 138 given above (and shown in a valuable appendix to the volume[11]), one should be prepared to adjust each figure for a cemetery population slightly upwards in consequence.

It seems to me a fair guess that one may multiply the 64 Skoubris burials by four to estimate the original population of this cemetery; similarly the Palia Perivolia tombs (40) may be multiplied by 3/2 as we have seen, and the Toumba ones (36) perhaps by five. The East Cemetery is a difficult case, but for the reasons given *supra* I do not think that its burials (4) should be multiplied by more than about five. Since, however, each cemetery is spread over more than one period, it is necessary to separate each cemetery's contingent of each period, before applying the multiplication factor suggested.

The results of this operation, apportioned by period and given in round numbers with a slight upward adjustment (*supra*) are as follows:

Submycenaean: about 100 original burials in about 50 years[12]
Early and Middle Protogeometric: about 85 originally in about 50 years
Late Protogeometric and transition to SPG I: about 95 originally in about 100 years
Sub-Protogeometric (SPG) I—early III: about 200 in 75 years

Leaving these figures for the moment, we now turn to the question of life-expectation. Here again there are serious problems, arising from the poor preservation of the (mainly cremated) remains. Of the 71 individuals examined by Dr. Musgrave, only 25 could be given approximate age-brackets on skeletal grounds;[13] of these 18 were adults and 7 children. But the excavators reasonably argue that, from the evidence of grave-goods and tomb-sizes, "a few additions or adjustments"[14] may be made to this list. In the published histogram[15] the total of individuals approximately aged rises to 46, of whom as many as 24 are classed as children; but this is from the tombs alone, and once the pyres are included[16] the total reaches 59 and there is some further refinement. Of these 59

6 are classed as adult unspecified;
10 as adult males;
14 as adult females;
5 as juveniles;
24 as children.

It will be noted that, whether in the tombs alone or with the pyres included, about half the total is represented by children and juveniles. To this we have to add Musgrave's finding[17] that "adults tended to die quite young", a statement to which he gives some precision: "For example P 45, P Pyre 14B, T 7, T 12B, T 14.1, T 14,2 and T 26 all died in the prime of life, say between 17 and 40 years." These examples in fact seem to represent almost all his reasonably-preserved individuals, and I could find no certain case of an adult who could be shown to have lived beyond this span. If therefore child and juvenile mortality accounted for about half of the deaths, and if even adults often died before they were forty, it follows that a life expectation figure of 30 at birth is far too high. It would be better to accept 20 as a hypothetical norm. I am aware that it is standard practice to use the expression 'life expectation' in the sense of expectancy *after* infancy has been survived. My calculations are thus not to be used for comparative purposes: they apply only to the Lefkandi cemeteries where we can be almost sure[18] that infants were included in the cemetery-burials, and must therefore also be included in demographic calculations based thereon.

Once we apply this norm to the burial-figures and period-durations given *supra*, we can make some approximation to the population-size represented by the four cemeteries (and no longer by the individual extant graves) under consideration. Figures of the following order emerge:

Submycenaean: about 40 people
Early and Middle Protogeometric: about 35 people
Late Protogeometric and transitional: about 20 people
Sub-Protogeometric I—early III: about 55 people.

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[7] *L* p. 105.
[8] *L* pp. 202—3.
[9] *L* p. 203.
[10] 43 according to Themelis, *L* p. 209.
[11] Appendix A, *L* pp. 417—422.
[12] See *L* p. 355 for the most precise chronology attempted.
[13] *L* pp. 203, 429—446.
[14] *L* p. 203.
[15] *L* p. 204, Figure 6.
[16] *L* pp. 417—20.
[17] *L* p. 439.
[18] This is mainly on the evidence of the numerous tombs of very small size; see *L* p. 203 with Figure 6: an emphatic example is Toumba T. 26 (*L* p. 153) which is only 50 by 25 cms., but there are many others not much bigger.

The apparent dip between the first and last figures may not be as significant as it appears. All the estimates of period-duration are, after all, mere conjectural approximations within ultimate fixed limits: in particular, the figure of 100 years for Late Protogeometric represents Vincent Desborough's revision, late in his working life, of his own earlier estimate which was nearer fifty years. In so far as the revised figure was inferred from the relative profusion of burials from this period, at Athens rather than at Lefkandi, then the parallel with Late *Geometric*, where such an extension of the period's limits seems to be excluded, makes this inference seem a questionable one, as I have said elsewhere.[19]

That said, what significance if any do the above figures have? I would use them only as a reminder of the *order* of magnitude with which we are dealing. If Lefkandi was, in the first two periods listed, a site "of considerable importance, in certain ways the equal of Athens", and in the last period "surely one of the most important",[20] then it should be salutary to reflect on what size of population this implies in absolute terms. It would of course be very advantageous if we could use the size of the contemporary settlement as a check on these figures, but I do not think that we can. In the first place, it is not certain that the Xeropolis hill *was* the settlement to which these cemeteries belonged.[21] Even if it were, and one used its area as a basis for a population-estimate, one would soon go astray; for there is no period of the dark age in which more than a part of the hill seems to have been in occupation. This is made clear by the excavators where they discuss a later period, the second half of the eighth century;[22] a little earlier, they suggest that the shrinkage of the settlement may have begun late in the Sub-Protogeometric period, but even before that there are hardly very clear signs of general occupation.[23] As a point on the other side, it must be said that before Late Protogeometric the settlement seems to have been entirely, and thereafter still partly, on the lower ground inland of the hill where there are no natural boundaries.[24] Yet the cemeteries themselves provide a kind of limit in one direction. It is worth observing in passing that Colin Renfrew[25] has worked on a figure of 300 people per hectare for a nucleated settlement of the Bronze Age, and 200 for the Neolithic. To judge from the wide spacing of the few buildings of the dark age that have been located in the settlement at Lefkandi, I would guess that the lower figure might be the more appropriate here—if indeed it is not too high.

All that I am arguing, however, is that the "exceedingly impressive" evidence of the Lefkandi cemeteries so far discovered has yet to attest a population of much more than fifty people. Of course, it can be pointed out that *no* cemetery has yet been found for the Late Geometric period, the later Sub-Protogeometric II period, or come to that the full Bronze Age, at all of which times we know that Lefkandi was occupied. That is so; but since the excavators have evidently struck a rich vein of the burial-grounds of the eleventh to ninth centuries, there is reason to think that other burials of *this* period will not extend over too vast a distance away from the cemeteries already discovered.

If I may put my proposition in a different form: to say that, for example, the importance of Lefkandi is such that we must credit it with a stable population of at least 500 is to imply either that something like *32 further cemeteries*, of the same periods and of the same order of magnitude as the four considered here, must once have existed; or to posit some hypothesis, quite unattested for Greece, to the effect that a substantial sector of the population was being denied formal burial. Certainly the burial-ground known to exist in the Khaliotis field (*supra*) is one such additional cemetery; but are there really more than thirty others? Which is more likely: that there were, or that the population of Lefkandi did not even approach 500?

Population in late eighth-century Attica

In 1977 I first attempted some measurement of demographic growth in eighth-century Attica, confining myself to relative estimates.[26] In 1979 John Camp published a paper in which he used a similar body of evidence to reach different, even directly opposite conclusions:[27] where I had seen signs of a dramatic demographic growth, he detected merely an upsurge in mortality, brought on by a severe drought. Meanwhile I had been working on my original figures by subdividing the Attic evidence into Athens itself on the one hand, and the countryside of Attica on the other; and at the same time extending them to include the evidence of the Argolid.[28] For this last, I naturally drew on Robin Hägg's invaluable work of 1974.[29] I should finally add that the general line of argument that I followed had been anticipated by Nicolas Coldstream.[30]

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[19] *AntJ* 53, 1973, p. 99.
[20] Desborough (supra n. 3), pp. 68, 199.
[21] *L* pp. 101—2.
[22] *L* p. 368.
[23] *L* p. 365, cf. 364.
[24] *L* p. 7, cf. 365.
[25] *The emergence of civilisation*, London 1971, p. 251.
[26] *Archaeology and the rise of the Greek state: an inaugural lecture*, Cambridge 1977, pp. 10—16.
[27] J. McK. Camp, "A drought in the late eighth century B.C.", *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 398—411.
[28] Snodgrass (supra n. 1), pp. 22—24.
[29] R. Hägg, *Die Gräber der Argolis* I: *Lage und Form der Gräber*, Uppsala 1974 (Boreas VII: 1).
[30] J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, pp. 360—361.

As between John Camp's explanation of the Attic evidence and my own, there should be some objective tests that can be applied. Let me first own that I am impressed by the piece of evidence with which he introduces his paper: the fact that every one of the 16 wells in use in the Agora in the second half of the eighth century had been filled in by about 700. More impressive still, perhaps, is the point which he presently establishes by asking "Where are all these people in the first half of the 7th century?".[31] This is a reference to the relative dearth of Attic burials of this subsequent period; it is a question which had already been puzzling me, and to which I am not yet ready to offer any answer.

In the end, nonetheless, I found it impossible to accept his interpretation, and indeed the whole hypothesis of a great drought. A preliminary point concerns the Agora evidence from which the hypothesis originally arose. It is tempting for us, in the light of later historical developments, to attach a very special importance to the piece of land which became the Agora of the Athenians, and to treat it as some sort of indicator of the condition of the Athenian state. Yet for the eighth century it is questionable whether it deserves such a status. If, as I believe was the case, the 'city' of Athens was at that time no more than a group of hamlets, very loosely centred on the Akropolis, then the patch of ground at the northern foot of the Akropolis may have held no special importance; it was still partially a burial-ground, traversed indeed by roads and serving at least some domestic and religious purposes as well. But the act of filling in the 16 wells there may have had no more than a local significance.

Camp himself will presumably acknowledge that the sudden rise in mortality which he detects must have been preceded by a rise in the birth-rate, even if a more gradual one; people have to be born first in order to die. His statement[32] "That the population of Athens increased in the 8th century is not questioned" perhaps marks an acceptance of this. More important to his hypothesis, however, is the *pattern* of mortality which a drought would lead us to expect; and it is in this connection that I wish to make two points.

First, it is hard to believe in a Mediterranean drought which, however severe, covered more than a few successive years. Yet the pattern of burials in eighth-century Attica is one that shows a sustained increase over a period of some sixty years (if that is indeed the correct estimate of the duration of the Attic Late Geometric I and II phases; most recent dissident views have gone in the direction of *lengthening* rather than shortening the period, which would have the incidental effect of making the rise less steep). Is it really possible to imagine that a drought, even with its indirect and delayed effects, would continue to slaughter the population of Attica for two generations, at a rate far above that experienced in the preceding centuries? For at least the last forty years of this period, meanwhile, a similar disaster was apparently dispatching the population of the Argolid. I do not know whether to make anything of the fact that these are perhaps the two most prominent *non*-colonising regions of mainland Greece at this period; it may be more significant that they are also the two most thoroughly explored archaeologically. But on the drought hypothesis, we are bound to ask ourselves whether Greeks in the grip of such conditions would not have emigrated (as Camp argues that they did from many other centres in Greece, and under the same pressure). Was not *any* form of escape preferable to decade after decade of starvation? On the population-growth hypothesis too, the absence of Attic and Argive colonisation has admittedly to be explained; but such explanation becomes easier when one combines this with the hypothesis that the land had hitherto been seriously underpopulated (an argument to which the first of these notes is relevant).

My second argument arises from a point made by Camp himself,[33] and supported with quotations from Dionysios of Halikarnassos and from a description of a famine of 1877 in Brazil. This is, that the very first impact of a prolonged drought or famine falls on the newborn and even more perhaps on the newly-weaned children; with the result that the pattern of burials under famine conditions would be expected to show a marked rise in the proportion of infant and child burials. Conversely, a relative decrease in child mortality will imply improved conditions. Is there some way to establish a standard level against which we could detect such a rise or fall? Here again, a point in the previous note (*supra*, p. 168) is of relevance. We found that, over a long period in eleventh- to ninth-century Lefkandi, something like one half of the burials had been those of children and juveniles. In the *Lefkandi* volume, Popham and Sackett indeed suggest an even higher proportion on the basis of inferences from tomb-size, and cite some recent comparative evidence including the horrifying statistic that, in Mexico in 1939—43, almost 75% of *all* deaths were of children under five years of age.[34] On this showing, we would expect a very high constant level of child mortality in dark age Greece, without there being any suspicion of temporary and abnormal environmental factors at work.

What comparable evidence from the later eighth century can be cited, to set alongside that of earlier Lefkandi? It is no good our turning to the most obvious place, the Kerameikos cemetery at Athens, for the simple reason that this was not, at the period in question, a cemetery representative of the whole age-

[31] Camp (supra n. 27), p. 400.
[32] Camp (supra n. 27), p. 400, n. 10.
[33] Camp (supra n. 27), pp. 399—400, n. 11.
[34] *L* pp. 205, 381, n. 27.

range; it seems to have been primarily reserved for adults,[35] with the converse state of affairs prevailing in the Agora cemeteries, and thus disqualifying them too. We can look at a single plot which probably belonged to a family, such as Rodney Young's small graveyard at the corner of the later Agora; here we find still prevailing the same proportion of 50% child-burials as before.[36] But the sample is a small one. It may be significant, however, that Camp's best illustration is taken from the Phaleron cemetery[37] which is almost entirely *post*-Geometric in date. The significance of the point will be appreciated when I say that only 2 of the Phaleron burials featured in the total of 408 dated burials in Late Geometric Attica on which I was working in 1977; in other words, a drought hypothesis could fit the Phaleron evidence, without bearing on my data for the eighth century. If a really dramatic archaeological illustration of the putative effect of drought or famine is sought, a possible instance is to be found in the entombment of some 175 new-born infants in a Hellenistic well in the Agora.[38]

As for the Argolid, Robin Hägg is of course better equipped than I to assess the evidence for child-mortality there. But I do not find in his tables[39] any evidence for a marked upsurge in the years after 750 B.C.; indeed a comparison of Table 30 (cist tombs) with Table 40 suggests otherwise. In the two areas whose evidence it might otherwise be thought to explain best, therefore, the drought hypothesis does not seem to find this necessary condition fulfilled.

The combined purpose of these two notes is to reiterate the straightforward argument that, in the dark age, population had sunk to a point where a really prominent site might yet be one that housed a community of, say, a hundred or two people, with consequent implications for lesser sites; and that the recovery from such a level, which must on any account have happened sooner or later, in the event took the form of a population-explosion in at least some regions of the Greek mainland in the later eighth century. I believe that this latter phenomenon made a large contribution to the Greek Renaissance.

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Note. In the author's absence the paper was read by Prof. B. C. Dietrich. There was no specific discussion (but see below, final general discussion).

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[35] Cf. A. M. Snodgrass, *The dark age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971, pp. 145, 147.

[36] R. S. Young, *Late Geometric graves and a seventh-century well in the Agora*, Athens 1939 (= *Hesperia*, Suppl. 2), p. 13.

[37] Camp (supra n. 27), p. 400, n. 11.

[38] See T. L. Shear, "The campaign of 1938", *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 201—246, esp. p. 239; J. L. Angel, "Skeletal material from Attica", *Hesperia* 14, 1945, pp. 279—331, esp. p. 311 with fig. 12 and p. 330.

[39] Hägg (supra n. 29), Table 30 and pp. 132—133; Table 40 and pp. 160—161.

Note. The author much regrets that, because of the prior acceptance of an invitation to another conference, he could not be present to take account of any criticisms made of this paper in the discussion. But he acknowledges gratefully the helpful suggestions later made by Professor R. M. Cook and Mr. T. W. Gallant.

The Decline of the Geometric Settlement of Koukounaries at Paros

by
Demetrius U. Schilardi

Recent archaeological investigations have contributed new evidence about the early history of Paros during the Dark Ages and the Geometric period. Systematic surveys of the NE part of the island have led to the discovery of a significant number of settlements which flourished around the bay of Naussa from the Late Bronze Age to the 7th cent. B.C. (*Fig. 1*). The surveys have shown that the bay must have always played a significant role in the history of Paros, due to the presence of numerous well-protected anchorages along the coast.[1] Obviously, the morphology of the surrounding coast, as well as the presence of promontories and hills, which were necessary for the establishment of settlements, must have attracted seafarers and settlers from a very early period. The investigations of our team directed to surface surveys and to the excavation of the Koukounaries acropolis have confirmed the widely accepted picture of the Greek Dark Ages (11th and 10th centuries) as a period of poverty, isolation and illiteracy. The same conditions persisted through the early part of the Geometric period. The Parian evidence indicates that the 8th century should have witnessed remarkable advances, and, by the end of the period, considerable progress.

The systematic surveys undertaken on Paros since 1969 have helped us shape a new picture about the distribution of various settlements at the NE part of the island. The coastal zone around the bay of Naussa is covered with settlements occupying hills and easily defensible sites.[2] No doubt, the selection of these sites was governed by the presence of farm lands and sources of water in the vicinity. Since almost all the settlements are dated to the Geometric period, it can be assumed that in the same period the local population must have experienced a significant increase, after the depopulation of Paros in the Dark Ages.[3]

A most complete picture of the social conditions prevailing on Paros during Geometric times is afforded by the ruins of the settlement of Koukounaries which prospered in the second half of the 8th cent. B.C. Koukounaries is situated near the SW coast of the bay of Naussa (*Fig. 1*). The excavations, carried out under the sponsorship of the Greek Archaeological Society since 1976, are still in progress. Nonetheless, some general deductions can be made about the features and significance of the site.[4] Koukounaries is a rugged hill, less than a hundred meters from the coast (*Fig. 2*). The site seems to have been occupied from the Late Helladic period, although serious building activity occurred in the transition of LH IIIB to IIIC, when Koukounaries became a fortified acropolis. Strong Cyclopean walls were built on the terrace ascent of its south side and the flat top of the hill. The site of the excavation occupies precisely the top, i.e. the plateau of the hill, rising 73 m. above sea level (*Fig. 3*). The plateau is surrounded by outcroppings of rock, except on the south side, which opens towards the terraces, on the accessible part of the acropolis. The excavation has brought to light thick occupation levels, representing four major chronological phases. The earliest belongs to a large Mycenaean building, evidently a palace, whose facade on the south side is represented by a strong Cyclopean wall, surviving 3 m high. The ruins include rectangular rooms and narrow corridors, whose arrangement suggests a unified plan.[5] Basement store-rooms[6] and an upper story were a few of its interesting features. The excavation of the complex produced masses of significant finds, such as pithoi, painted vases, bronzes, ivo-

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[1] D. U. Schilardi, *JFA* 2, 1975, pp. 88—89.

[2] Schilardi (supra n. 1), pp. 88—96; idem, *Praktika* 1975, pp. 205—211.

[3] See D. U. Schilardi, "The Destruction of the Mycenaean Citadel at Koukounaries on Paros", in: *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory*, eds. J. L. Davis and J. F. Cherry, Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, Monograph XIV, p. 178.

[4] See Schilardi (supra n. 1), pp. 88—93; idem, *Praktika* 1976, pp. 287—294; 1977, pp. 363—374; 1978, pp. 195—210; 1979, pp. 236—248; and idem (supra n. 3), pp. 158—179.

[5] Schilardi, *Praktika* 1979, p. 246; idem (supra n. 3), p. 177.

[6] Schilardi, *Praktika* 1976, pp. 290—293; 1977, pp. 367—368.

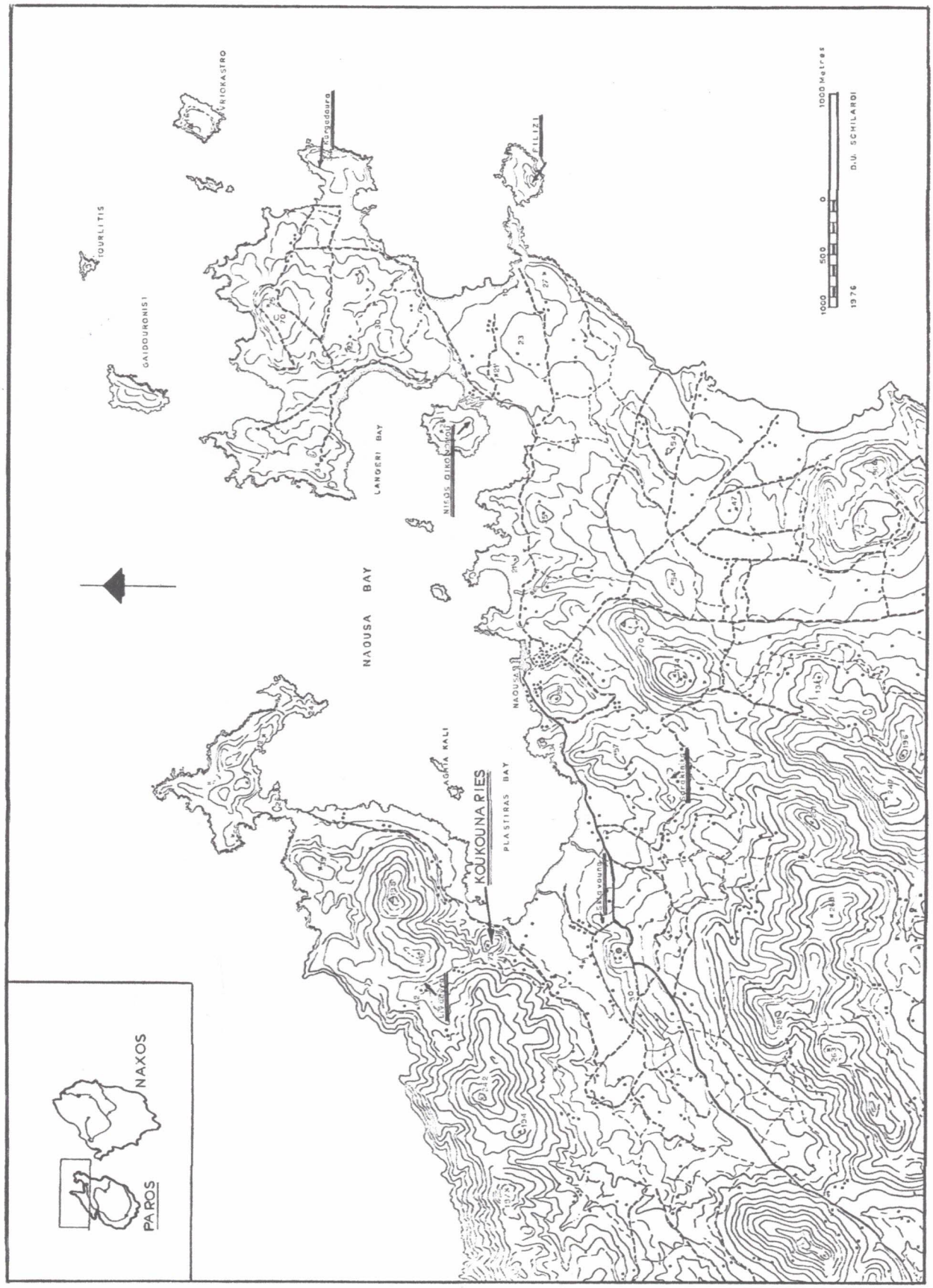

Fig. 1. The bay of Naussa with the sites of the Geometric settlements marked.

Fig. 2. The acropolis of Koukounaries from the SW.

ries, steatite and other objects, all retrieved from a thick ash layer, which resulted from the burning of the building in the early LH IIIC phase.[7] The imposing remains of the acropolis, the small palace at the top of the hill and, finally, the wealthy finds from the basement store-rooms, prove that Koukounaries was a prosperous acropolis and the center of power of Paros in Late Mycenaean times.

The second important level, represented by a few architectural remains, such as rectilinear walls built on the ruined complex, is known as the "Post-destruction" phase.[8] The walls belong to structures which were built either by the survivors of the attack or by the invaders. The period was a short one, judging by the finds, and was followed soon afterwards by the abandonment of Koukounaries, which remained deserted until the early 10th cent. B.C.[9]

The third level belongs to the Protogeometric occupation of the site. The phase is marked by remains of walls, apparently belonging to houses, and a curved wall (*Fig. 4*)[10] at the SW part of the plateau, forming part of an early apsidal structure, perhaps a temple. The plateau has yielded numerous deposits of pottery. It is interesting that the various assemblages include vases imported from Attica or made on Paros. A large krater from Paros measures pres. height 0.39 m. The krater features a set of three concentric circles on each side and has double-arched handles. Its bottom shows traces of wear from the ladle used to draw wine. Other vases from the same deposit include an oinochoe, a cup and a skyphos with conical foot.[11] The date of this important assemblage, discovered under the floor of a Late Geometric building in square E3, can be put around 900 B.C. on the basis of both the cup and the skyphos, which can be dated accurately since they are Attic imports.

The fourth major phase of our excavation concerns the settlement of the Geometric period. Architectural remains and pottery help us to visualize life in this early community. The prosperity of the PG settlement was followed by a period of decline, as suggested by the paucity of finds. Although future investigations might alter this picture, there is at present little evidence about the EG settlement. Skyphoi with pendant semi-circles of a popular Sub-Protogeometric type[12] seem to provide a link with the ensuing phase. To the MG period have been attributed the contents of a hearth occupying a rock cavity, beneath the floor of a LG structure in square E4. The hearth contained food remains, i.e. bones and sea-shells in a thick layer of ash. A large group of fragmentary vases, basically open shapes, was found in it. Besides skyphoi, one-handled cups and oinochoes, the hearth has yielded spindle-whorls and a small clay phallus,

[7] Schilardi, *Praktika* 1975, p. 206, n. 2.

[8] Schilardi (supra n. 3) p. 178, n. 10.

[9] Schilardi (supra n. 3), p. 178; *Praktika* 1978, p. 208.

[10] The stretch must belong to the west end of a large apsidal building, oriented E-W. The preserved length of the wall is 5.50 m. The reconstructed width of the building should measure externally *ca.* 6 m. The apse consists of two courses of well fitted stones held together with mud. The apse contained accumulations with pottery fragments of the PG period. In view of the popularity of apsidal structures in the religious architecture of Geometric Paros, it seems highly likely that the curved wall should belong to an early temple.

[11] Schilardi, *Praktika* 1979, p. 247, Pl. 151 *a*.

[12] The excavation has yielded fragments of skyphoi with pendant semi-circles. On the class, see J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (1968), pp. 151—155.

Fig. 3. Protogeometric and Geometric architectural remains of the Koukounaries settlement.

associated with the religious practices of the period. Indeed, the nature of the find is indicative of a cult of a fertility or a chthonic deity.[13]

The settlement flourished and assumed its final plan during LG times (*Fig. 3*). The inhabitants constructed their houses on the accumulations of the PG and EG periods. Some of the old Mycenaean walls, still standing to a considerable height, were adopted and incorporated in the new structures.[14] The layout of the settlement is impressive because the buildings have been constructed as independent units, with a consistent N-S orientation and with intervening narrow streets. Nonetheless, the overall aspect is rather crowded because of the limited size of the plateau and the narrow spacing of the buildings. Though the size of the settlement appears small, it should be borne in mind that an additional number of dwellings must have been spread over both the terraces, stretching to the S. of the plateau, and in the valleys surrounding the hill. From the side of the bay the settlement was out of site of visitors and was deliberately, like its Mycenaean precedessors, situated as such.

It is not totally clear whether the Geometric inhabitants of Koukounaries could use the old fortification system. It is believed that at this time most of the walls lay in a semi-ruined condition and the strong wall at the south edge of the plateau was reduced to more than half of its original height; the surviving portion might have still been used by the settlers with further reenforcement. Some of the features of the buildings invite comment. Two large structures occupy the middle of the plateau. The remains of the northern one, lying beneath squares D4—E4, feature a rectangular structure measuring *ca.* 8.50 m in length. Originally it was much longer, considering that one of its walls stretches into square F4. Partition walls divide the unit into two rooms. The entrance was on one of the narrow sides, since it could not have been facing North and the south side was blocked by a contemporary LG structure discovered in squares C3, D3 and E3. This building measures 12 m long. Its width must exceed 3.50 m (*Fig. 5*). The partition wall and the bench along the north face of the east room were added in the course of remodelling. The west room was furnished with a raised platform (*Fig. 6*). A schist-slab bin was found sunk in the middle of the floor. Evidently this was used for storing grain and other kinds of seeds. The function of the platform is not clear. It is not known whether it was intended for sleeping or if it formed part of a staircase leading to an upper storey. Potsherds recovered from the west room are decorated in the typical "Parian" manner.[15]

The largest and perhaps the most significant structure of the settlement is a long rectangular building built with schist stones and found at the south part of the plateau, beneath squares B2—D2 (*Figs. 4, 7*).[16] The building is orientated E-W and measures 13.70 m overall. The width cannot be ascertained because the south wall has not survived. The hall was probably entered from the West, though no trace of the main door has been found. Inside there were two floor levels. The original dirt floor extends over a thick deposit of rubble from the old Mycenaean complex. The floor was covered at some stage by the rubble of a fallen wall. A second floor paved with schist slabs was constructed 0.48 m higher. Fragments of a large pith-

Fig. 4. Remains of the rectangular hall and the curved PG wall in the foreground.

Fig. 5. Remains of the LG building in square C3. View from NW.

[13] Schilardi, *Praktika* 1978, p. 204, n. 1.

[14] See for example the structure in square C6, where old Mycenaean walls were re-used in Geometric times, and the building of squares D4—E4, whose south wall belongs to the prehistoric complex.

[15] Examples of pottery decorated in this style have been discovered at the ancient acropolis of Paros and at the Delion sanctuary, situated on a hill to the N of the capital; see O. Rubensohn, *AthMitt* 42, 1917, pp. 73 ff., esp. pp. 91, 97, Figs. 85—86, and Rubensohn, *Das Delion von Paros* (1962), pp. 85—100, most of Pls. 14—17 and Pl. 18,1—5.

[16] Schilardi, *Praktika* 1977, p. 373; 1978, pp. 205, 209—210.

amphora with a relief representation of two struggling figures lay on the floor at the eastern part of the building (*Fig. 8*). Since the fragment is dated around 670/660 B.C., it can be assumed that the building was still in use at that time. The significance of this structure is obvious. A long hall without a porch, a door on the west side and a row of inner columns are most probably to be restored. The hall stood in a distinctive position on the terrace and probably served either as the house of the local leader or more likely as a temple. Since the hall has succeeded a large apsidal PG structure (*Fig. 4*), as indicated by the curved wall on the SW side of the plateau, it is very likely that it also served a religious purpose.

Another interesting structure occupied the northern part of the plateau in squares D5—D6.[17] It is a rectangular building with massive foundations and the north wall slightly curved. The outside dimensions of the room measure 6.60 x 5.20 m. Surviving foundations suggest that it formed part of a large complex of rooms extending to the N and E. In the room to the N a portable coarseware brazier was found standing in situ (H. 16.5 cm, Diam. 0.27 m; *Fig. 9*). An extensive ash layer covered the floor of the apsidal room, containing fine ware sherds, carbonized bones and seashells. Apparently these were the remains of a domestic hearth, which must have been in use inside the room. Near the NE corner lay a significant group of fragmentary vases (*Fig. 10*). Among the shapes were a kantharos with meander hooks and marsh birds framed in metopes, hydriai whose shoulders show standing semicircles—a motif surviving from the PG tradition—and skyphoi which are painted in the well-known "Parian" manner (see infra), featuring metopes filled with sigmas and dots (*Fig. 11*).[18]

Since the foundations of this room form part of a large complex, it is believed that it served a domestic purpose. The possibility that this room was an apsidal temple can be dismissed, because apsidal religious structures are usually detached from other buildings,[19] as in the case with the isolated temple occupying the middle of the fortified settlement of Oikonomos on Paros.[20] Thus the building of D5—D6 was apparently the residence of the local chieftain.

More houses can be recognized in foundations surrounding the main nucleus of buildings. A large rectangular structure extends beneath squares B2—B3 and smaller ones in C5 and C6. In square E2 a wall streches E-W, its pres. length measuring 4.20 m.[21] It should form part of a room extending to the S., as indicated by a group of vases which were found crushed under the debris of fallen schist slabs. The excavation of the occupation level under the destruction debris brought to light food remains, such as bones and seashells, a pithos, a lekythos with a globular body and skyphoi decorated in the popular "Parian" manner. The deposit should be dated 720 B.C., and the hall to the east must be considered later, since it has destroyed a section of the previously mentioned wall.

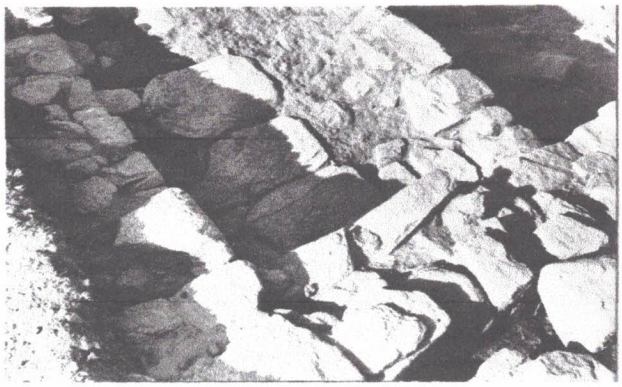

Fig. 6. The platform of the LG building of square D3.

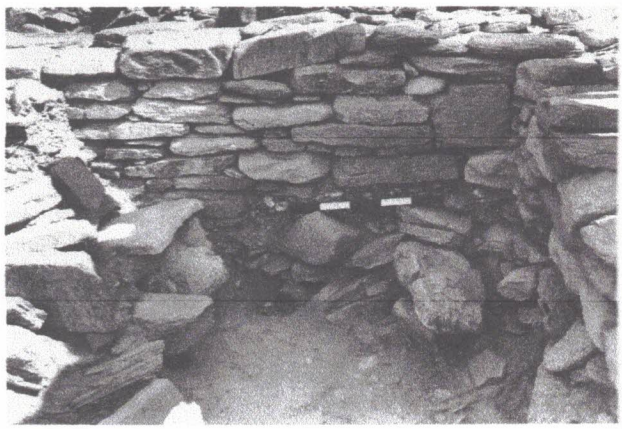

Fig. 7. The long Hall. Detail of masonry at NE corner.

Given that our settlement antedates the period of Archilochus,[22] the excavations at Koukounaries have furnished an illuminating insight into the social-economic aspects of Paros during a phase which is not documented by literary sources; the oldest written evidence about early life on Paros appears in the poetry of Archilochus, composed in the first half of the 7th cent. B.C.

The settlement was abandoned peacefully in the course of the 7th cent. B.C. and never subsequently inhabited, its accumulations remaining undisturbed. The material evidence is sufficient to afford a good picture of the everyday living conditions on this rugged and isolated Aegean settlement. The pottery

[17] Schilardi, *Praktika* 1978, p. 209.
[18] Supra n. 15.
[19] J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece* (1977), p. 304.
[20] Schilardi, *Praktika* 1975, p. 208.
[21] Schilardi, *Praktika* 1977, p. 372.
[22] About the life and the poetry of Archilochus, see A. R. Burn, *The Lyric Age of Greece* (1960), pp. 159—170; H. D. Rankin, *Archilochos of Paros* (1977); F. Lassere - A. Bonnard, *Archiloque Fragments* (1958).

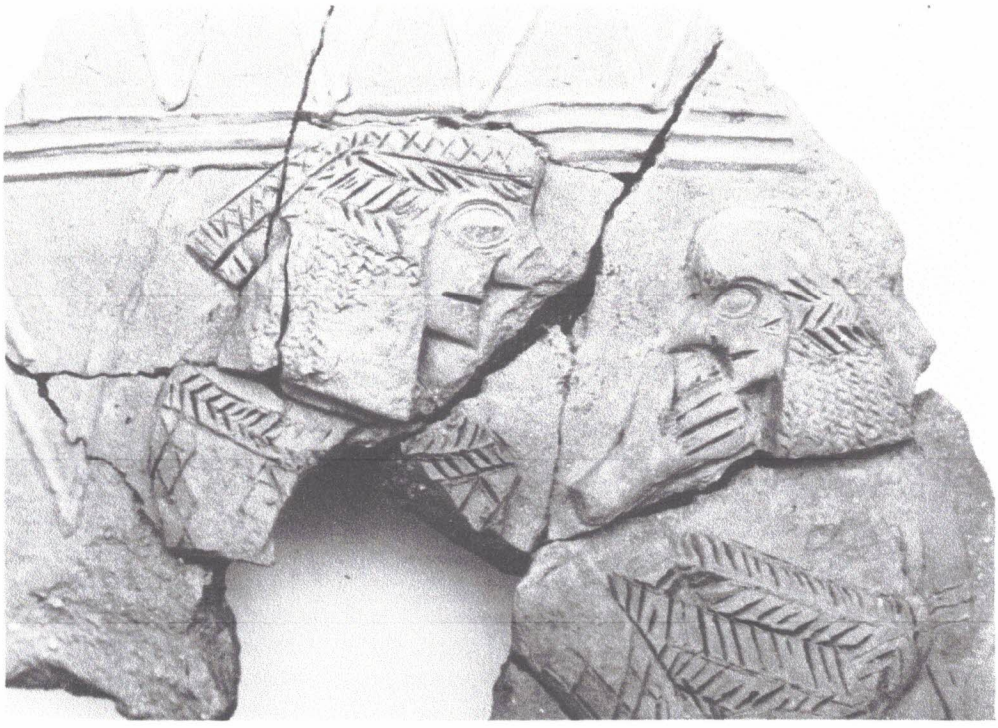

Fig. 8. Fragment of an Orientalizing pithamphora from square D2.

attributable to this period is plentiful and important; it provides a secure basis for dating the period of prosperity in the second half of the 8th cent. B.C. Besides the regular coarseware, such as cooking pots and pithoi, the local fine ware is abundant and handsome. The leading open shapes are drinking vessels, like skyphoi and kantharoi with high handles, whereas closed shapes are represented by hydriai. One category imitates faithfully Attic designs, such as metopes filled with marsh birds and broken meander hooks.[23] The second category, which must have appeared while Attic LG IIa was still influential in local pottery, is painted in the typical local manner.[24] This "Parian" style replaces the Attic repertoire by putting emphasis on multiple brush ornaments, i.e. masses of sigmas, chevrons and dots, all employed as principal ornaments. The fabric of the vessels shares common features with the clay from local clay beds existing around the island. Although Rubensohn maintained that Paros had no good clay beds and therefore no fabric of her own,[25] it is now believed that the island possessed clay suitable for pottery. Furthermore, the study of the ceramic finds from Koukounaries has made it clear that the largest part of Mycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric pottery found there was produced locally. In a poem of Archilochus[26] there is a reference to a potter, Aeschylides, which makes in effect the production of pottery on the island irrefutable.

It is however the architecture which can provide direct evidence about the degree of culture and the standards of living for this early community. It is clear that the occupants built their houses in tiers, with the

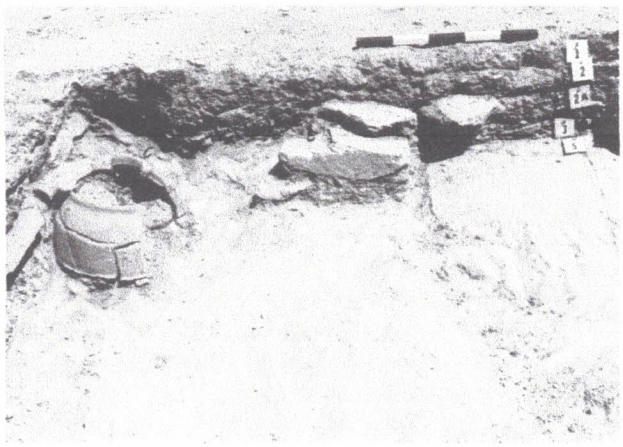

Fig. 9. Brazier in situ. Square D6.

facades turned away from the north wind. Each of the buildings had one or two rooms and the entrance on one of the narrow sides. Local, grey schist stone was employed for the foundations and the walls, which were constructed in stone to their full height. Occasionally granite stones were also used, though the material, quarried from the hill, had been em-

[23] On the class, see Coldstream (supra n. 12), p. 180, Pl. 38 *e*.
[24] Coldstream (supra n. 12), p. 180, Pl. 38 *c, f*.
[25] Rubensohn, *Das Delion von Paros*, p. 85.
[26] L. M. Edmonds, *Greek Elegy and Iambus* II (1968), p. 152, fr. 97B.

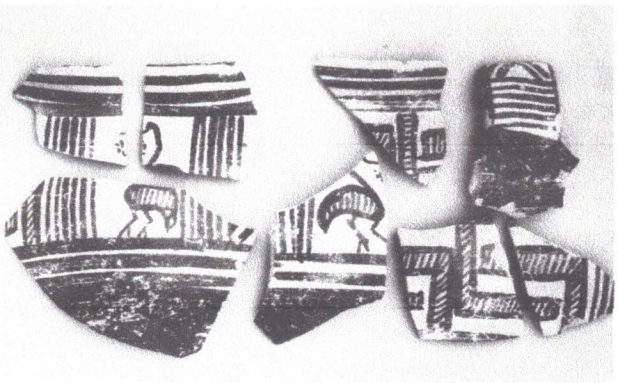

Fig. 10. Late Geometric sherds from the apsidal structure.

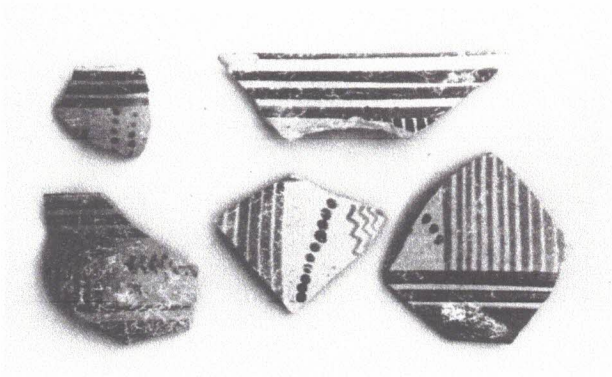

Fig. 11. Sherds painted in the "Parian" manner, found in the apsidal structure.

ployed extensively during Mycenaean times. Large slabs of schist were used for door-jambs and lintels. It can be conjectured that the rooms were flat-roofed with wooden beams supporting the roof, consisting of schist slabs covered with reeds and a whitish water-proofing layer of clay, as happens today on Paros. No traces of internal supports have been located, a fact which is not surprising if we remember the limited size of the structures. Although the apsidal room contained one stone base for an inner wooden column, it is not certain whether it was intended for this room or belonged to the Mycenaean complex. Some rooms were supplied with benches, no doubt used for sleeping or seating (D3, C6) and with schist-lined bins for storing cereals (D3). Nowhere in the settlement has conclusive evidence been found for an upper storey. Finally, there are indications suggesting that there were hearths inside some rooms.

Since the apsidal building contained an ash layer with food remains, it is presumed that its roof had a special opening to let the smoke escape. As with other contemporary Aegean settlements, the construction of basements was unknown. The supply of drinking water was a serious problem; the occupants had to carry it from the nearest spring, situated at the NE foot of the hill, not far from the sea. It is also possible that there were special reservoirs for collecting the rainwater from the roofs of the buildings as in many Cycladic villages today.

The inhabitants of Koukounaries must have been farmers and shepherds. Though no seeds have survived for analysis, the valleys opposite the hill were ideal for cultivating barley, grain, olive trees and other farm products. The animal bones gathered from the occupation levels of the houses show that sheep, pigs and cattle formed part of the common livestock. Various loom-weights and spindle-whorls found on the floors suggest that spinning and weaving were practiced in the houses. Clay lamps for artificial illumination were unknown. As a result the inhabitants had to rely on the light of both the hearths and braziers. No fish remains have been recovered. Yet, there is no doubt that the Parians of that period were involved in sea activities, fishing and seafaring. Very little has been discovered to indicate trade activity through the import of foreign fabrics. However, contacts with Attica must have been strong, given that the influence of Attic vase-painting remained predominant till about 730 B.C., when the "Parian" style became popular. Little has survived indicating metal work, except a curved blade of an iron knife and a pair of bronze tweezers.

Besides the construction technique and the general features of the Koukounaries site, another aspect which deserves special consideration is the planning of the settlement. Perhaps, the most interesting feature of the site is the regular orientation of the rectangular houses and the presence of streets running E-W and N-S. This rather crude example of town planning is admittedly more developed than Zagora, where the houses are clustered and no streets have been identified.[27] For a more advanced example of Parian town-planning one should compare the remains of the famous settlement of Oikonomos on the east side of the bay of Naussa.[28] The site lies on a small peninsula, whose connecting causeway is now submerged except for a narrow isthmus, thus reducing the peninsula to an islet. Safe anchorages bordered the causeway, one on each side. The settlement is easily defensible and its features in regard to the selection of the peninsula and the presence of the isthmus are typical of settlement sites of Ionian cities.[29] Again, its features remind us of an interesting description in book 13, lines 96—101 of the *Odyssey*,

[27] A. Cambitoglou, *Zagora* 1 (1971), plans 1—4.
[28] Schilardi, *Praktika* 1975, pp. 205—209.
[29] J. M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* (1962), p. 30.

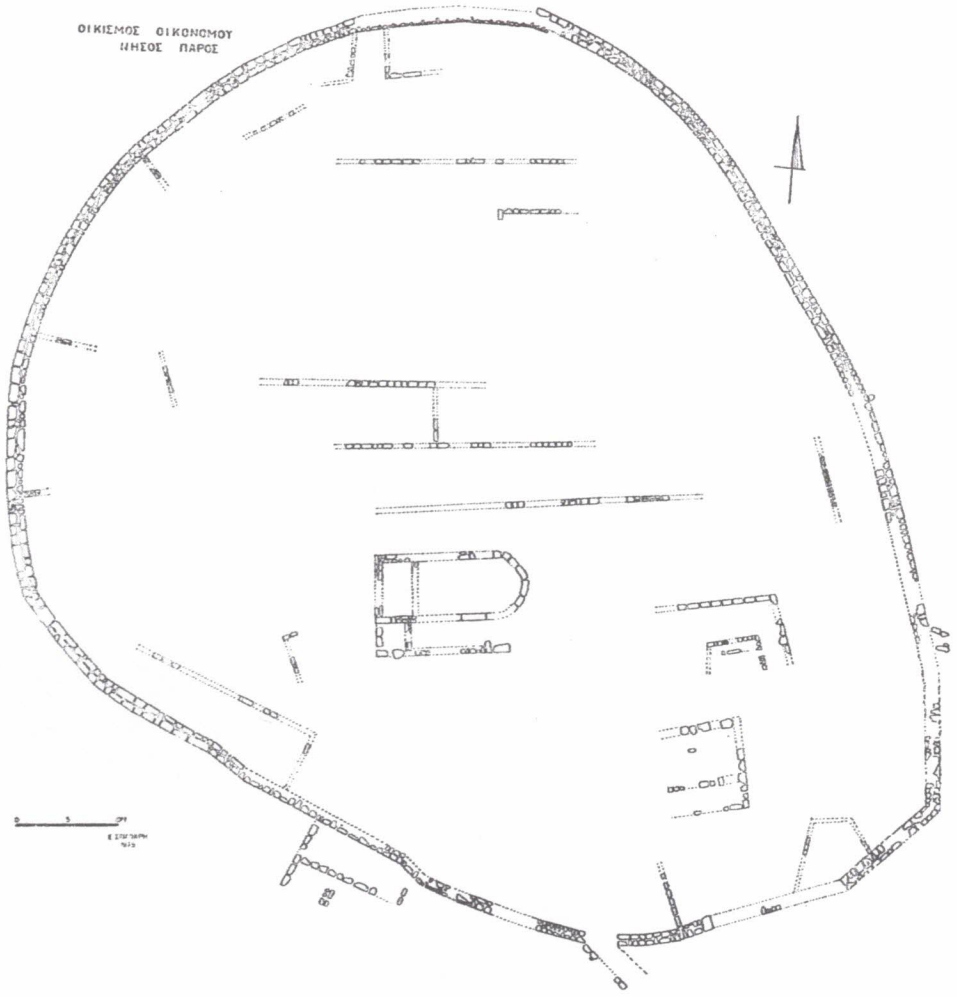

Fig. 12. Plan of the settlement at the Oikonomos islet.

regarding a narrow isthmus with boats drawn up on either side before entering the imaginary city of the Phaeacians.

The ruins of Oikonomos spread on a low hill situated at the SE side of the islet (*Fig. 12*). The settlement is protected by a strong fortification wall. In plan, it forms an oval circuit, its largest diameter measuring 130 m in length. It is, therefore, a small settlement whose importance lies primiarly in its excellent state of preservation and the architectural features and arrangement of the enclosed buildings. The wall measures 1.40 m in thickness and the pres. height is 1.05 m. The masonry style is irregular polygonal; it consists of local limestone blocks built in the dry technique.[30] Two lines of stone form the inner and outer face of the wall, the intervening space being filled with rubble. Probably its upper section was built with sun-dried mud bricks. The systematic study of the ruins in combination with aerial photos have demonstrated the existence of stepped terraces on the north part. On the terraces have been observed rows of long buildings and streets, all running E-W. The lowest terrace accommodates the widest of the streets (5.50 m).

The most important structure of the site lies in the vicinity, immediately to the S of the widest street. It is an apsidal building, orientated E-W. It measures *ca.* 15 m in length, 6.70 m in width. The facade faced W. A partition wall divides the building into a porch and a cella 10.50 m long. A long rectangular room runs along its south face. The structure is isolated and occupies the most prominent location on the site. Its architectural features and its detatchment from other structures suggest that it was an early temple. Clearly the apsidal building of the Oikonomos settlement should be considered the best preserved example of its category in Greece.

There are two more rectangular buildings to the E and SE of the temple, both seemingly associated with the administrative functions of the settlement. No gate has been identified at the north side of the enclosure. The south side has, however, a small opening and the south-east a rectangular courtyard flanked

[30] Schilardi, *AAA* 6, 1973, pp. 261—262, Figs. 3—4.

with towers, behind the main gate. The coarseware pottery recovered from the site is hard to date.[31] It is also true that the town-planning of Oikonomos has no close parallels. However, the row of buildings recalls the line of rooms attached to the inner face of the fortification wall at Vroulia[32] on Rhodes and the apsidal Geometric temple of Hera Akraia at Perachora.[33] On account of the available evidence it can be assumed that the Oikonomos settlement should perhaps be dated in the early Orientalizing period, although future excavation will settle this question.

The description of the remains make it clear that the Oikonomos settlement was founded as a *polis* and built in line with elementary principles of town-planning. The settlement has been divided into areas of separate functions. There is indeed a division into an upper section intended for residential purposes and a lower one with the agora, including administrative and religious buildings.

Both sites at Koukounaries and on the Oikonomos islet display advanced characteristics, as suggested by their town-planning. The occurrence of these developed features in settlements on Paros cannot be readily explained at this stage. However, it is obvious that such planning must either derive from a long standing local tradition or from cultural contacts with the Ionian world of the Aegean and Asia Minor. Though it is possible that such planning may have developed through local evolution, the question remains open due to lack of comparative material. On the other hand, we may say that if Paros borrowed its town-planning from elsewhere, it might have been the Aegean or the coastal zone of Asia Minor, where experiments in axially-planned housing, as at Smyrna, go back to Early Geometric times.[34]

The causes which led to the abandonment of Koukounaries may elude us for ever. This healthy community was suddenly deserted, peacefully, at the end of the 8th cent. B.C. The occupation levels bear no marks of violent destruction. Chronologically, the latest dated material recovered at the site till now belongs to the ripest stage of Parian LG. Pottery retrieved from the occupation strata displays floating chevrons, sigmas and cables in combination with spoked wheels. The material belongs to the "Wheel Group",[35] a class of pottery which became popular in the transition to the local Orientalizing style. It is interesting that the temple remained in use for at least three decades after the site had been abandoned. The relief amphora shows that the hall continued to be occupied even in the second quarter of the 7th cent. B.C.

Although this enigmatic desertion finds parallels in the abandonment of contemporary communities at Lefkandi,[36] Zagora[37] on Andros and Donoussa[38] near Naxos, there is no evidence to explain the sudden move. It is perhaps fitting to mention at this point that from the group of Geometric settlements located around the bay of Naussa (*Fig. 1*) in recent years, none has yielded evidence suggesting continuation of occupation into the 6th cent. B.C. Thus, in addition to the Oikonomos settlement, Kargadoura,[39] Filizi,[40] Sarakinika[41] and Livadera[42] were presumably all deserted without violence during the 7th cent. B.C. The theory of an earthquake which might have damaged the settlements and dried out the springs of water, forcing the population to desert their sites, should be dismissed because of lack of evidence.

The question remains unanswered and though contemporary scholarship has attempted to illuminate this vexed archaeological problem, the available evidence is still insufficient to allow us draw any positive conclusions. In a recent article it has been pointed out that Archilochus makes reference in a small fragment to a drought which could possibly have happened during the poet's lifetime on Paros.[43] It should be said however, that from the content of the preserved fragment it is not at all clear whether the drought had affected Paros or another unidentified region. The fragment reads as follows:

κακήν σφιν Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐόνην[44]

It is therefore impossible to establish a historical connection with Paros, and because of this, there are no grounds for arguing that a drought could have been the cause for the abandonment of the sites around the bay of Naussa. On the basis of the available material it seems more reasonable to assume that the underlying causes of this act should be explained as the result of crucial social and political developments in Greece. Otherwise, how are we to explain the fact that Paros, the capital, continued without interruption its accelerating course of prosperity from the

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[31] Schilardi (supra n. 30), pp. 262—263.

[32] H. Drerup, *Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit* (*ArchHom*, II, O, 1969), pp. 51—52, Fig. 44; A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece* (1971), p. 426.

[33] Drerup (supra n. 32), p. 28; Snodgrass (supra n. 32), p. 409.

[34] Snodgrass (supra n. 32), p. 423.

[35] Coldstream (supra n. 12), p. 180.

[36] M. Popham - L. H. Sackett, *Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboia, 1964—66*, (1968), pp. 33—35 and *Archaeology* 25, 1972, pp. 8—19.

[37] Cambitoglou (supra n. 27), pp. 9, 11.

[38] Ph. Zapheiropoulou, *Deltion* 22, 1967, Chronika, p. 467; 24, 1969, Chronika, pp. 390—393; 25, 1970, Chronika, pp. 426—428; 26, 1971, Chronika, pp. 465—467. Also *AAA* 4, 1971, pp. 210—216; 6, 1973, pp. 256—259.

[39] Schilardi, *JFA* 2, 1975, pp. 94—95.

[40] Schilardi, *JFA* 2, 1975, pp. 95—96; *Praktika* 1975, p. 209.

[41] Schilardi, *Praktika* 1975, p. 210.

[42] Schilardi, *Praktika* 1975, p. 211.

[43] J. McK. Camp II, *Hesperia* 48, 1979, p. 407.

[44] Edmonds (supra n. 26), p. 178, fr. 125.

8th to the 7th cent. B.C., if a drought had affected the life of its inhabitants? There is, then, a good possibility that the sites were deserted because the inhabitants of rugged hills like Koukounaries decided to move to farming zones or to organized cities.[45] Paros, the capital, and other significant centers might have attracted a large number of new inhabitants. As the poetry of Archilochus indicates, in that period of movement, colonization and trade, the idea of the city gained eminence. In the poetry of Archilochus, whose involvement in the political life of his island is remarkable,[46] one can distinguish a new awareness of the *Polis*, either as a community formed from several villages, i.e. an organized political entity, or as a community protected by a fortified circuit. It was precisely during that period of new social and political orientations that remote settlements were deserted to fulfill the needs of a restless, rapidly changing society.

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[45] For the desertion of Zagora, see Cambitoglou (supra n. 27), p. 11. Cf. also A. M. Snodgrass, *Archaeology and the Rise of the Greek State* (inaugural lecture), 1977, p. 25.

[46] Rankin (supra n. 22), p. 76. The political character of Archilochus' poetry is evident from his verses, which contain admonitions to his fellow countrymen; cf. e.g. Edmonds (supra n. 26), p. 122, fr. 50; p. 130, fr. 63.

Homeric Medicine

by
Hara Tzavella-Evjen

What we call medicine in the Homeric epics is the treatment of wounds and epidemic diseases. The cure of wounds is usually within the abilities of the military physician, while diseases are supposed to be treated only by the gods.

In this paper an attempt is made *a*) to take a closer view of the profile and training of the medical personnel, and *b*) to examine the pharmacology available to them.

The god-physicians are headed by Apollo. The disease he sent to punish the Achaeans was later ended by the pacification of Chryses (*Iliad* 1.456). Whatever it was, one should think it took its time and lives until through natural immunization bodily resistance was built up. Apollo, on the other hand, cures Glaukus' wound (*Il.* 16.528—529) and helps Hector to regain consciousness and stop spitting blood after he had suffered a hard blow (*Il.* 15.240—252). Apollo's involvement in medical practice is asserted through his relationship to Asclepius and to Paieon. The linguistic similarity between Paieon and the Apollonian hymn *paian* is striking.[1] Paieon heals the wounded Ares (*Il.* 5.401, 900); injured Aphrodite is soothed by Dione who simply cleans the wound and consoles her. Cleaning the wound and consoling seems to have been a broadly applied treatment, among mortals, too.

Zeus causes sickness or disabilities rather than heals. Blindness (*Il.* 6.139), mental disorders (*Il.* 6.234, 9.377), and infertility (*Il.* 9.454—456) are attributed to him. Persephone had a role in the latter case, too. Athene plays tricks with the human mind. The suitors (*Odyssey* 20.345—349) undergo, through their irrational burst of laughter, what could be called a temporary *phrenitis*, based on the definition that *phrenes* is the site of laughter.[2] Diseases were also dependent on the seasons (*Il.* 22.29—31) as Orion's Dog caused high fever. This early fall constellation was held responsible, we assume, for sunstrokes.[3] In other words, medical diagnosis was nonexistant. The fact that gods were believed to be healers we know from the simile of the children who rejoice at their father's recovery (*Od.* 5.395—397).

The pharmaceutical properties of plants were attributed to gods. Hermes, e.g., provided Odysseus with the moly, the successful antidote to Circe's *pharmakon* (*Od.* 10.290—291, 303—306, 326). Agents of the gods assist in medical enterprises as well. Maron, Apollo's priest, supplied Odysseus (*Od.* 9.204—211) with the "secret wine" which, in all probability, put Polyphemus out before Odysseus performed his famous ocular extraction. A good sedative, indeed.

Homeric people knew that some *pharmaka* had side effects, such as loss of memory as told in Circe's story (*Od.* 10.234—236), or alter one's psychological mood. One might wonder what was in the Egyptian *nepenthes* mentioned in connection with Helen (*Od.* 4.220—230). They also knew that ointments can make people look younger (*Od.* 10.392—395).

The Apollo-Asclepius-Machaon-Podalerius and Chiron-Achilles-Patroclus medical traditions might indicate that this profession was a closely-knit family or societal affair. The physician was obviously enjoying social prestige as he was considered as equal to public benefactors, such as seers and weapon manufacturers, the talents of which made them worth being invited from distant places. Physicians are the ones who have many *pharmaka* (*Il.* 16.28—29) and are worth many people (*Il.* 11.507). It was after Machaon was wounded that Achilles realized the difficult position the Achaeans were in (*Il.* 11.610).

We are not told how Machaon treated Menelaus' wound (*Il.* 4.210—219), but Patroclus, using a knife,

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[1] C. Kerényi, *Asklepios. Archetypal Image of the Physician's Existence*, New York 1959, p. XVI.

[2] G. Majno, *The Healing Hand. Man and Wound in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1975, p. 198.

[3] In the Hippocratic treatise of *Airs, Waters, Places* we read, "those who disobey the laws of Summer will be punished with an injury to the heart. For them the Fall will bring intermittent fevers," Majno (supra n. 2), pp. 240—242.

removed the arrow from Eurypolus' body (*Il.* 11.809—850), a rare reference to the use of surgical tools. In addition to the known physicians, there was an anonymous group of certified physicians or assistants (*Il.* 13.213). Arrows were removed by comrades, e.g., Sthenelus removed the arrow from Diomedes' shoulder (*Il.* 5.110), but on another occasion Diomedes himself removed the arrow from his foot.[4] The sons of Autolykos attended to Odysseus' wound at Parnassus, in a rather primitive way (*Od.* 19.457), that is, through magical spell.[5] We know it was successful. Among the nonphysicians is Ekamede, who qualifies at least as a nurse; she bathed the wounded Machaon.

The Trojans had the physician Agenor who treated Helenus' wound and bandaged it (*Il.* 13.599—600). This dressing of the wound was not mentioned with respect to the Achaeans. Agamede was reputed to know all *pharmaka* that earth produces (*Il.* 11.740). Sarpedon's companions provided him with resuscitation by using the breeze of the north wind (*Il.* 5.660—697). These practices illustrate quite an advanced Trojan medical personnel.

Physicians were trained by apprenticeship and were learning by studying the wounds of the living rather than by dissecting the dead. Their knowledge of human anatomy centered on the parts which were usually exposed to wounds. A recent study[6] provides us with the list of fatal and nonfatal wounds described in the Homeric epics and the anatomical terms used for identifying the parts and organs of the body. From this it is obvious that their anatomical knowledge concentrates on the most vulnerable parts of the warrior's body, that is, arms, legs, abdominal region, neck, and cranium. There are few references to the sternon and only one to the lungs (*Il.* 4.528). The practice of cremation indicates that they did not want to keep cadavers around. In the few cases in which the body was preserved (Patroclus, Hector, Achilles), they left the embalming to the gods with very little human assistance, which shows lack of such practice. Homer must have exaggerated the length of time Hector and Achilles were left unburied. Some fear of contamination from contact with the corpse is possibly expressed through their fear of blood pollution, which explains Odysseus' concern and the housecleaning after the murder of the suitors.[7] The observation of the regrowth of the partially removed liver shows further their experimentation with the living rather than with the dead. Furthermore, their lack of knowledge of the decomposition of the body illustrates their medical apprenticeship had little or nothing to do with cadavers. Decay was thought to be caused by flies which entered and deposited the maggots in the body (*Il.* 19.25—28).

Besides the war injuries, hunting accidents or snakebites like Philoctetes' (*Il.* 2.723—724) would challenge the physicians. It is also possible that they would be called upon for treating people after injuries inflicted for punishment. Melanthius' mutilation (*Od.* 22.475) and similar threats addressed to Irus (*Od.* 18.86—87) or, even more, Laomedon's threat to mutilate Poseidon and Apollo (*Il.* 21.455) give evidence of a widely spread practice. Polyphemus' blinding falls into this category. The medical procedure which followed the injury was executed most professionally. Odysseus burns his implement until flaming and then removes the Cyclop's eye, thus prohibiting hemorrhaging and infection (*Od.* 9.375—394). In one case (*Od.* 10.301, 341), there is an implied threat of Odysseus' castration by Circe. Obviously, physicians should have faced such situations if death was not intended by the punishment.

Cosmetic surgery, like earpiercing (*Il.* 14.182), might have been the physician's territory because of the risk of infection.

How did the physicians treat these cases? First, they would not get involved with the fatally wounded; they recognized them as such, empirically.[8] Furthermore, a number of injured warriors did not receive medical attention, as if it was not necessary (*Il.* 17.598—601). In cases of fainting, concussions, etc., pouring water over the warrior (*Il.* 14.435) or exposing him to fresh air was thought to be sufficient. Simple moral support could be helpful (*Il.* 5.382—400). Often the heroes embolden themselves, such as Diomedes who describes the wound on his foot, caused by an arrow which had penetrated it, as a scratch. When injured, Odysseus did not call for help until he had killed his opponent and the bleeding had increased (*Il.* 11.437, 483—484). Hemorrhage should be dreaded, and there was nothing the physicians could do, since there is no evidence that they knew how to tie off a bleeding vessel. For example, Hypsinor died the "red death" (*Il.* 5.83) after his arm was cut off. Treatment for bruises received in athletic competition is not mentioned either (*Il.*. 23.716—717).

One thing that both physician and patient knew was that a fresh injury would not hurt for a while and that pain should come when blood would "cool off" (*Il.* 11.266—268).

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[4] In Indian, the word "surgeon" is "shalyahara". Shalya = arrow, sword, lance, any weapon, hara = remover. Thus, surgeon = the weapon remover, Majno (supra n. 2), p. 267.

[5] The Atharvan Hindu priests were famous for their spells for almost any need: stopping hemorrhage, curing snakebites, etc., Majno (supra n. 2), p. 262.

[6] A. Albarracin Teulon, "La Cirugia Homerica", *Episteme* 5, 1971, pp. 83—101.

[7] Similar fear of contamination kept Hindus' knowledge of anatomy at almost nonexistent level, Majno (supra n. 2), p. 276.

[8] The rate of fatal wounds in the *Iliad* is 77.6%, Teulon (supra n. 6), p. 96.

When the physician was called in, he would wash the wound with warm water and then dress it with *pharmaka* (*Il.* 4.210—219, 11.515, 809—850, 15.394). Machaon performed a form of venesection on the wounded Menelaus (*Il.* 4.210—219) before he applied *pharmaka*.[9] This was to prevent poisoning from the "bitter" arrow.[10]

What were those soothing *pharmaka*? Only once we read about the bitter root, used on Eurypolus' wound (*Il.* 11.809—850), which has been thought to be onion, and onion does have antiseptic properties.[11]

Beyond that, the only avenue for us is to see how they were perceiving the curing processes of a wound and to look into the decay retardents they were using. In *Il.* 11.809—50 is given what was thought to be the picture of a cured wound. The pain should stop, the blood should cease flowing, and the wound should be dry. Since there is a distinction made between the end of bleeding and the drying of the wound, we assume that the wound should be dry from pus. Looking into the decay retardents; oil and fat, plain or with added fragrances, are commonly used (*Il.* 18.345—351, 23.186, 243—244). Oil, definitively, is a good preservative. We know it was used for wound dressing both in Mesopotamia[12] and in later Greek salves. In another instance we know that Achilles used sulphur to purify his libation cup, but we are not told whether Patroclus disinfected his knife before removing the arrow from Eurypolus' body. It should be fair to assume that some antibacterial measures, such as using sulphur, would have been taken. We should probably think that, if something has not been specifically mentioned, it does not mean that it has not happened.

The question raised with respect to the use of oil should be asked for honey, too. The healing and preservative qualities of honey were known. Achilles' body is treated with honey (*Od.* 24.67—68); Achilles placed over Patroclus' pyre an amphora with honey which, along with wine, seemed appropriate gifts to a hero-physician. There is no specific reference, though, to dressing the wounds with honey. Honey had been used on wounds by both the Egyptians and the Hindus. A recent experiment proved that honey speeds the healing process of a wound.[13] Honey is one of the ingredients in Circe's potion. Machaon is fed honey as part of his recuperating meal. This may hint that honey was taken internally for the soothing or revitalizing properties it was believed to have.

At least we know that warm water was used for cleaning both the wounds of the living as well as the injured bodies of the dead (*Il.* 18.345—351). But wine was the most trusted and most versatile ally of the wounded or sick Achaeans. Wine was taken as a tonic (*Il.* 6.261), as a sedative (*Il.* 6.264—265), pain killer (*Il.* 14.5—7), nourishment for the hero (*Il.* 9.491) or the heroes' horses (!) (*Il.* 8.188—189). Wine was poured over the funeral pyre of Patroclus (*Il.* 23.250), a ritual that survived in later Greek ceremonies or sacrifices to the "hero-physician".[14] Circe's potion contained Pramnian wine (*Od.* 10.234—236), and Nestor and the wounded Machaon treated themselves with a similar cocktail of Pramnian wine (*Il.* 11.618—643). Wine is mentioned once as a disinfectant preservative in cleansing the bones of the dead (*Od.* 24.72—73). This explains why the Achaeans had a daily supply of wines from Thrace (*Il.* 9—72), in addition to the wine brought from Lemnos (*Il.* 7.467, 472).

What were the properties of the wine which were valued so highly? The alcohol content, *ca.* 9—10%, is only part of the answer.[15] It has been suggested[16] that the plants used as wine preservatives added to the special qualities of the wine, and they obviously were using preservatives. Otherwise Nestor could not have offered to Telemachus an eleven-year-old wine. Maron's wine is praised for its pleasant smell (*Od.* 9.210), resulting, probably, from the added herbs. We know that in later Greece resin and saffron were common preservatives. This might explain the popularity of the saffron gatherer as a subject on the Minoan and Theran frescoes.[17] Recent laboratory research[18] has proven that wine is antibacterial. A 50—50 water-wine mixture kills cholera vibrios within ten or fifteen minutes, and typhoid bacilli disappear after 24 hours. Wine's bactericidal power increases with age. Could it be that generous wine consumption saved the Achaeans from the disease rather than Chryses' prayer?

The relationship between wine and medicine increases in Classical Greece, as is well illustrated by the neighboring sanctuaries of Dionysus and Asclepius on the south slope of the Athenian acropolis and elsewhere.

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[9] Venesection to draw out "bad blood" became a common practice in Greek medicine and the medicine of other cultures. Later, known as blood plethora, it survived in various forms to our days.

[10] The frequent reference to "bitter" for arrows is not a literary dramatization. Odysseus' journey to Ephyra for the purpose of finding the "mankilling" *pharmakon* to put on his arrows (*Od.* 1.259—262) explains the realistic use of the term "bitter".

[11] Majno (supra n. 2), p. 488, footnote 17.

[12] Majno (supra n. 2), pp. 48, 52—53, 58.

[13] Majno (supra n. 2), p. 119.

[14] Kerényi (supra n. 1), p. 73.

[15] Later Greek tales, according to which undiluted wine could cause madness or death (C. A. P. Ruck, "On the Sacred Names of Iamos and Ion", *CJ* 71, 1976, pp. 235—252), do not sound persuasive. Alcohol could not be strong enough.

[16] Ruck (supra n. 15), p. 242. Ph. V. Stanley, "De-re-u-ko and Mycenaean Wines", *AJA* 85, 1981, p. 219.

[17] It could be that some of the spices in the Linear B tablets were used as wine preservatives, too. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1956, pp. 104—107.

[18] Majno (supra n. 2), p. 186.

A component in Circe's and Machaon's wine mixture is *alphita*. This barley-meal might not have been as innocent as it sounds. In a recent study[19] it is shown that a fungal growth, ergot, common on both barley and wheat, contains alkaloids of the ergotamine and ergotoxine group, ergonovine, and sometimes also traces of lysergic acid amide. Ergonovine and lysergic acid amide are both psychoactive and soluble in water. The separation of the hallucinogenic agents by simple water solution was within the possibilities open to the Homeric people.[20]

Ambrosia, this most versatile of drugs, should be decoded. When it was used by the gods—and Achilles (*Il.* 19.353)—it was a food substance. As an adjective, it was indicative of immortality. When gods applied ambrosia to humans, then it became an ointment for embalming (*Il.* 19.38—39, 16.669). Both of the latter properties make ambrosia a preservative. Ambrosia obviously had a strong, pleasant smell, good enough to overpower the odor of decay or the smell of the seal's skin, as Menelaus experienced it (*Od.* 4.444—445). So ambrosia qualifies as a pharmaceutical product. This god-given ointment bears some similarities to the nine-year-old ointment used for Patroclus' body, in addition to the oil (*Il.* 18.345—351, *Od.* 24.45, 60—73). Ambrosia's origin is placed somewhere east since its bird-carriers had to risk the passage through the Plangtas stones (*Od.* 12.62—63).[21] This direction coincides with the archaeologically documented importation of ointments from the Near Eastern countries. The small flask-type, ridge-necked vases of Cypro-Phoenician style have been found at a number of Geometric communities, both prosperous and humble.[22] The possibility that these vases contained medical ointments rather than perfume, a luxury item, might provide an answer to the question: Why would poor communities go so far as to import them?

An earlier Cypriot ridge-necked flask, found in Egypt, contained opium.[23] The similarity in shape between these small juglets and the poppy capsules advertised their content, as the neck ridge corresponds to the ridge on the poppy stem. Models of poppy capsules are known from Greek sanctuaries[24] and, of course, from the Minoan goddess whose headdress has poppies with slits representing the knife marks needed for the extraction of the sap. It seems that opium was more used than advertised. Most likely it was kept secret to preserve the monopoly of "miracles" to the healers. It is possible that the deep sleep induced in the hopefuls (or helpless) at Epidaurus was the result of a dose of opium. How else can we explain the presence of the poppy flower carved on the coffers of the Epidaurian Tholos?[25]

Last, but not least, the Homeric physician knew how important his bedside manners were for relieving the patient's anguish and pain. Patroclus soothes Eurypolus through pleasant stories (*Il.* 15.390—394), and Machaon, when wounded, applies the same technique to himself, discoursing with Nestor (*Il.* 11.643).[26] A good psychological observation long since forgotten!

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Discussion

J. N. Coldstream: Some footnotes on opium. V. Karageorghis, after finding opium pipes at Kition, suggested that opium may have been the *nepenthes* of *Odyssey* iv. There is also a class of small Cretan juglets with applied vertical ribs, all in contexts of 850—800. They follow the Cypriot quasi-bucchero models, and continue the traditional poppy-head form which goes right back to the Base-Ring juglets of the Late Bronze Age. Perhaps the Cretans had their own private supply.

E. C. Kopff: On the subject of diagnosis: we have a long fragment from the *Sack of Troy*, where Podaleirius the doctor diagnoses Ajax' madness.

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[19] G. Wasson, C. Ruck, A. Hofmann, *The Road to Eleusis. Unveiling the Secret of the Mysteries*, New York and London 1978.

[20] Wasson (supra n. 19), p. 81.

[21] For the association of birds as suppliers of medicinal products, see S. Marinatos, "Some Hints about the Eastern Mediterranean Mythology," *ArchEph* 1964 (pr. 1967), pp. 1—14. Could it be that the so-called "duck-vases" contained some medical ointment?

[22] J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, New York 1977, pp. 68, 99.

[23] F. Daumas, *La civilisation de l'Egypte pharaonique*, Paris 1965, p. 556.

[24] N. M. Verdelis, "A Sanctuary at Solygeia", *Archaeology* 15, 1962, pp. 184—192.

[25] Use of opium in connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries has been suggested by Ruck (supra n. 15), p. 240, and Kerényi, *Eleusis. Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter*, London 1967, p. 180.

[26] In ancient India, one of the many requirements a medical attendant had to meet was to be "conversant and skilled in reciting verses and pleasant discourses and narratives and stories and legendary histories", Majno (supra n. 2), pp. 292—293. Homeric people had a highly advanced capability of diagnosing psychological disorder. Achilles' suicidal behaviour is a typical example.

Funerary Meals in the Geometric Necropolis at Asine?

by
Robin Hägg

At Asine in the Argolid, where excavations were resumed in 1970 under the auspices of the Swedish Institute in Athens,[1] we struck upon a find complex of exceptional importance for our understanding of the death rituals of the late 8th century B.C. This complex was cleared in the seasons of 1971—72 and the final publication is now in the course of preparation.[2] The excavation area is situated on the south slope of the Barbouna Hill, opposite the acropolis rock, Kastraki. Ever since the beginning of the century, this slope has been known as the area of an extensive necropolis of Geometric date, but only very few tombs had been investigated in the course of the old Swedish excavations in the 1920s, and unfortunately in such a cursory way that only one of them is known in any detail.[3] This was the reason for our new excavations in this sector.

We did not, however, find any tombs in the area during the first seasons. What we found was a small, flat area that had been cut into the rather steep slope (Plan, *Fig. 1*). It was delimited on two sides by huge terrace-walls, meeting at right angles and reaching a height of *c.* 2 m.[4] Within this area, we found three circular stone-settings or platforms, with diameters of between one and one-and-a-half metres. The edges were carefully built of stones, and the central surface of each circle was more or less regularly paved with smaller stones and pebbles. Nothing of importance was found inside the filling of the circles, only a few sherds, rather worn, and very few animal bones. One of the circles[5] was constructed around a big rounded stone belonging to the bedrock, which is here a soft shale with an admixture of harder blocks.

Close to the southern-most circle, a deposit of Late Geometric pottery was uncovered. Within an area of about two square metres, we found about forty vases, clearly broken on the spot, since most of the pieces were found and the pots were able to be mended rather well. Some strange observations could be made. Between two amphora necks, a big, oblong stone was found. Its form is reminiscent of a stone axe. Not far away there was a circular stone slab, broken in several pieces. Some of the pottery was found partly erect, like the neck of an amphora which was stylistically the earliest pot here and the only one of its type. Many pots occurred in pairs and even triplets, including another type of amphora, of which there were three almost identical specimens. The same was the case with the big oinochoai: one specimen was able to be completely restored, nearly 60 cm high,[6] another was less well preserved and a third one, which had once stood here, was very fragmentary, since most of the sherds had been washed down the slope. Bowls and one-handled cups occurred in great numbers, for instance nearly fifteen specimens of the one-handled cup with "metope" decoration, which is so common at Asine but rarely found at other sites in the Argolid. The biggest pot was a krater, unfortunately rather fragmentary.[7] It is decorated in a typically Argive style: step meanders, horizontal zigzags, horses in metopes and women dancing or going in a procession with branches in their hands.

In addition to the customary abbreviations, the following are used:
Asine I = O. Frödin and A. Persson, *Asine. Results of the Swedish excavations 1922—1930*, Stockholm 1938
Barbouna I = *Excavations in the Barbouna area at Asine*, ed. I. and R. Hägg, Uppsala 1973 (= Boreas 4:1)
Hägg, *Gräber* = R. Hägg, *Die Gräber der Argolis in submykenischer, protogeometrischer und geometrischer Zeit*, 1: *Lage und Form der Gräber*, Uppsala 1974 (= Boreas 7:1)

[1] See bibliography, *Barbouna* I, pp. 14—15.
[2] Preliminary reports: I. and R. Hägg, "Asine, Barbouna Area", *Deltion* 27, 1972, Chronika (pr. 1976), pp. 232—233; *Deltion* 28, 1973, Chronika (pr. 1977), pp. 156—159.
[3] *Asine* I, pp. 192—194; R. Hägg, "Geometrische Gräber von Asine", *OpAth* 6, 1965, pp. 118—137; Hägg, *Gräber*, pp. 49 and 53—56.
[4] See plan, *Deltion* 27, 1972, Chronika, p. 232.
[5] No. 1, see plan cited supra, n. 4.
[6] Illustrated in *Deltion* 27, 1972, Chronika, Pl. 174*c*.
[7] Illustrated in *Deltion* 27, 1972, Chronika, Pl. 174*a*.

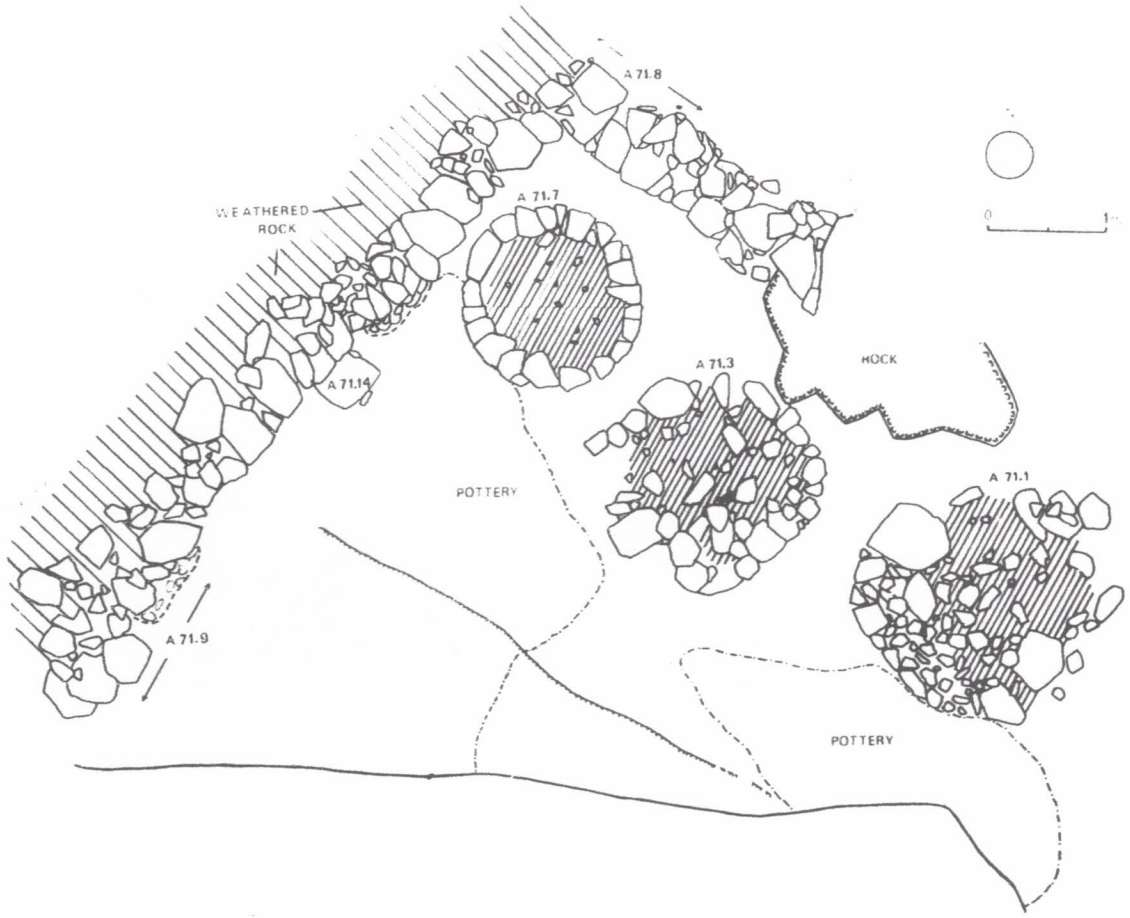

Fig. 1. Asine, Barbouna area, area of circular stone-settings of Late Geometric date excavated in 1971—72. (After *Deltion* 27, 1972, Chronika, p. 232.)

Close to the third circle we found a flat stone slab that covered an area of black earth. Underneath appeared a hollow in the soft rock, filled with sooty earth, blackened bones of sheep or goat and some insignificant sherds. This is clearly a sort of hearth or rather a hollow in which to keep the embers. On top of the stone slab we had found some quite interesting pottery. Contrary to what had been the case in the deposit just described, there was both coarse and hand-made pottery in this part of the area, together with decorated pottery of Protocorinthian and Late Geometric styles.

All this area between the walls yielded only Geometric pottery, apart from some worn Protogeometric sherds probably washed down from the terraces above. There is nothing later than the Late Geometric and Protocorinthian pottery just mentioned. Thus the material is rather homogeneous, which indicates that the area and its structures were in use for only a short time span within the Late Geometric phase.

The stone circles are obviously not graves—in fact, not even one fragment of human bone has been found in this area of the slope. And yet we know that the necropolis is close by, and some traits observed in the find complex just described hint at some sort of funeral function of the whole compound. The fine, decorated pottery is of the type you would find in tombs; also the complete absence of coarse and hand-made pottery in the main deposit is striking. Probably also significant is the occurrence of pairs and triplets of the same vase type, as has been noted in tomb groups.[8] Finally, the circular stone slab should be mentioned. It brings to mind the Attic stone discs, usually of marble and sometimes inscribed, that were somehow connected with graves of the Archaic period.[9] Admittedly we do not know how they were used, but their funeral connection is certain.

I think we can exclude the possibility that the paved circles had a purely practical, profane function, as has, in fact, been suggested for the closest parallel we have for these structures. Outside the walls of Troy, in a layer belonging to Troy VIII, i.e. the Hellenic phase of the settlement, were found twenty-eight

[8] Hägg, *OpAth* 6, 1965, p. 130 with refs. in notes 55—57.

[9] D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek burial customs*, London 1971, p. 88 and refs. on p. 353.

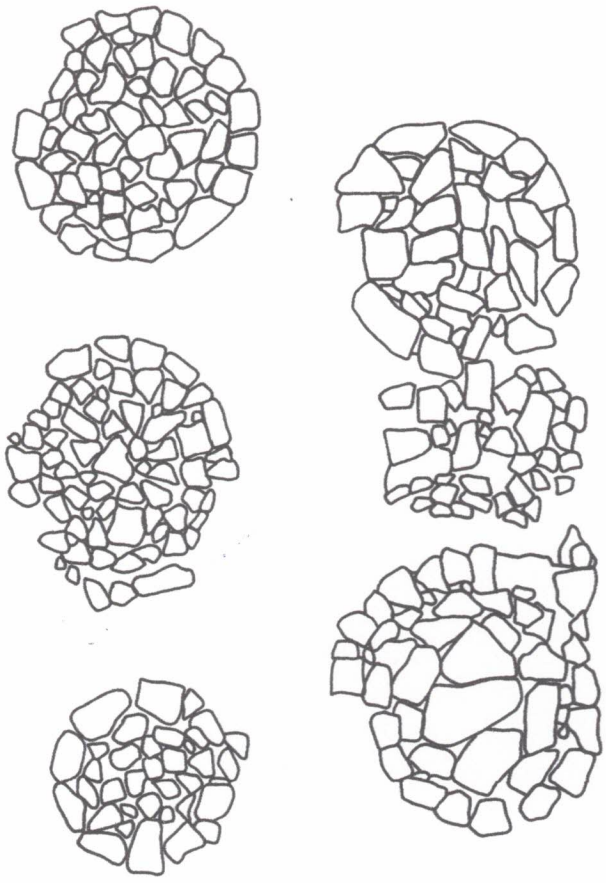

Fig. 2. Troy, paved circles belonging to Troy VIII. (After Blegen.)

paved circles of about 2 m in diameter.[10] They seemed to have been arranged originally in two rows approximately parallel to the fortification wall of Troy VI and extended some 12 metres in length (*Fig. 2*). These circles were found in several successive layers, which means that they were renewed at intervals during a long period of use. On some of them there were traces of clay plaster. The excavators were at a loss to explain their actual use. In the publication it is said that they were "perhaps miniatures of the normal drying-beds for grapes and figs, i.e. the circular threshing-floor."[11] This interpretation is not, I would say, particularly convincing, either for the Troy circles, or for ours. Why were they made so small? And why were the Troy circles renewed at intervals? Unfortunately, we have no detailed report on the associated finds, but the catalogue section following the description of the circles states that "the commonest shapes are one-handled cups and dinoi (or kraters)"; there were also fragments of kantharoi and trefoil oinochoai, in other words: drinking vessels.[12]

On the coast of Asia Minor there is another example of a platform of circular or rather slightly oval shape, namely in a Late Geometric to Archaic shrine in the area of the temple of Athena at Miletus.[13] This has naturally been interpreted as an altar. It was built above or on top of a tower belonging to the Mycenaean fortification wall, and the round structure that existed in Geometric times was later, probably in Early Archaic times, surrounded by a square building of small dimensions (*Fig. 3*). Remains of sooty earth, animal bones, etc. have been reported. This structure, which is alone, not one of a group, and appears to be connected with a divine cult, may not have anything to do with the Asine circles.

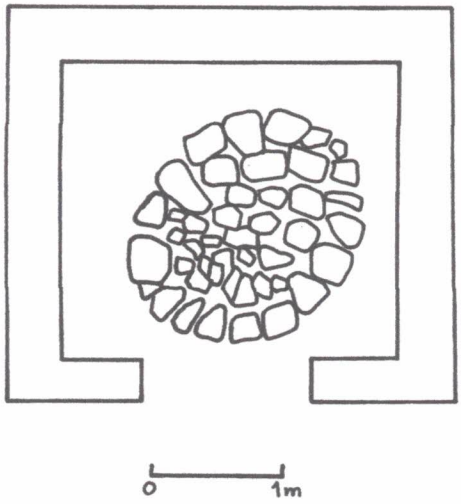

Fig. 3. Miletus, Sanctuary of Athena, shrine or altar of Late Geometric to Early Archaic date. (After *IstMitt* 9/10, 1959/60, Beil. 6.)

A third example of more or less circular stone pavements of about the same period has been found at Mycenae. Two such structures had been built on top of a partially collapsed chamber tomb just south of Grave Circle B.[14] The best preserved of these had a diameter of about 2 m. On and among the stones of the pavement were found Geometric and Protocorinthian sherds and in the pit formed by the collapsed chamber were successive layers of burnt matter and of distintegrated rock. There is no explicit mention of animal bones, but the two structures were seen by the excavator as altars for a cult of the heroized dead buried in the chamber tomb. It was concluded that one

[10] C. W. Blegen *et alii, Troy. Excavations conducted by the university of Cincinnati 1932—1938* IV, Princeton, N.J. 1958, pp. 274—275 with Figs. 156—159, 161—167 and 369—370.

[11] Blegen (supra n. 10), p. 275. I wish to thank Prof. Jerome Sperling, who took part in the excavation, for valuable discussion.

[12] Blegen (supra n. 10), pp. 275—279.

[13] A. Mallwitz, *IstMitt* 9/10, 1959/60, pp. 76—85 with Taf. 77:2 and Beil. 6 (plan). See also D. W. Rupp's paper in this volume.

[14] I. Papadimitriou, *Praktika* 1953 (pr. 1956), pp. 207—209; G. E. Mylonas, *Ὁ ταφικὸς κύκλος Β΄ τῶν Μυκηνῶν*, Athens 1972—73, p. 18 and Pls. 1 and 5*a*—*b*.

Fig. 4. Nichoria, Unit IV—1, of Dark Age date. (After *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 86—87, Fig. 4.)

of the circles was built immediately on top of the roof of the chamber, but that it was later replaced by a new circle, when the first was threatened by the collapse of the roof. The second circle was almost completely destroyed by the modern road and the ditch alongside it.

The last example of this type that I shall discuss here is a circular pavement inside the building called Unit IV-1 at Nichoria in Messenia.[15] This is an imposing apsidal building of Dark Age date, approximately from the end of the 10th or beginning of the 9th century (*Fig. 4*). The circular area lies in a significant position along the central axis and is framed on two sides by kinds of walls, as it appears from the plan. Originally, at least, it was not considered certain that this area had been roofed over, but there is no detailed discussion of this problem in the last report published, when some bases for inner columns had been found.[16] In view of this it seems most likely that the entire building was roofed, including the paved area. This is described as resting on a low podium formed by the adjoining walls. On top of the stones was found "a thin layer of carbonized material" and on the floor immediately to the west there was a large quantity of animal bones.[17] Among the pot sherds, skyphoi were common, but cups were rare. In the eastern part of the building there was a pit hearth, a little more than 1 m in diameter, filled with black soil. The finds on the floors of the building were clearly of a domestic character, like spindle whorls and simple metal objects. The tentative interpretation given by the excavators is that this was a residential building, perhaps a chieftain's house, with an altar in the interior.[18]

Thus we have circular stone structures in five different contexts, ranging in time from about 900 till well into the 7th century (Troy), from sites in Asia Minor and the Peloponnese. The examples are admittedly very few and widely scattered. It could be argued that the similarities are superficial and fortuitous, but I shall try and find a common denominator.

To begin with, the circles are not hearths, although some burnt matter does occur on them or associated with them.[19] Still, none of them shows any traces of *extensive* burning; some of the Troy circles were even plastered.[20] Animal bones are explicitly mentioned in several cases, drinking vessels in other. I find it very

[15] W. A. McDonald, "Excavations at Nichoria in Messenia, 1969—71", *Hesperia* 41, 1972, pp. 218—273, esp. p. 252 and Pl. 47*c*; McDonald *et alii*, "Excavations at Nichoria in Messenia, 1972—1973", *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 69—141, esp. pp. 85—92 (W. D. E. Coulson).

[16] *Hesperia* 44, 1975, p. 92.

[17] *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 90 and 92.

[18] *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 91—92.

[19] Miletos, Mycenae, Nichoria, see supra.

[20] Blegen (supra n. 10), p. 274.

likely that ritual eating and drinking was associated with the circles, and I would suggest that this belongs to a cult honouring the ancestors. This would go well with the position of the paved area in the centre of the chieftain's house at Nichoria, it is easily compatible with the idea of a hero cult at the chamber tomb at Mycenae, and I think it may also be understandable in the area of the necropolis at Asine—although in this case we do not yet know of any earlier tombs or remains in just this area. After all, ancestors worthy of attention or cult need not necessarily have been dead for a long time, as we can see from the examples of the hero shrines at Eretria and perhaps Lefkandi.[21] It remains to explain the Troy and Miletus examples. In both cases there is the proximity of Bronze Age remains, and I think this may be the reason for the cult. The Troy VI walls must have been not only visible but still very impressive. The Miletus shrine was significantly placed on top of a tower of the Mycenaean wall, but it is difficult to estimate how visible this tower may have been; it is not certain that we have here the same phenomenon.

The rise of the hero cult in the 8th century is well known through the efforts of several participants in this Symposium,[22] and I would just like to widen the perspective to include also the cult of ancestors. In so doing we can see that there are two phenomena combined to make the cult of the dead an important manifestation of 8th century ideology: the renewed interest in the heoric past, no doubt strengthened by the epic, and the increasing selfconsciousness of the aristocratic families and their desire to stress the ties within the family and with previous generations, as witnessed also in the burial customs, the reemergence of the family grave in one form or the other.[23]

As regards the actual cult that took place at the circular pavements, it is likely that it consisted of libations, *choai*, as we know was the case at *ta enata* and other grave rites in Classical times,[24] as well as of the ritual eating and drinking that were so important to the Greeks.[25] May I end by suggesting that a certain well-known group of Attic oinochoai may illustrate such a ceremony at the grave-side (as has been said before)[26] or at a separate ceremonial area like our stone circle shrines? It is clear, of course, that the picture must represent an important ceremony connected with death and burial, and I think that especially the prominent placing of shields on some of these examples would well suit the idea of an ancestor cult, in whose honour the living were feasting.

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Discussion

B. Wells: A similar structure was found at Asine, in the Karmaniola area to the east of the Acropolis. It had a diameter of 1.4 m and was very carefully laid. The middle of the structure was filled with earth and pebbles. Nothing was found in the fill, but underneath PG and MG sherds were found. It is placed to the west of a LG apsidal building. The circular structure lies over a PG apsidal building dating to the 10th century. I wounder if there could be any connection with the structures you have discussed.

R. Hägg: Yes, I think in this case the traces of the ancestors would be in the PG apsidal building beneath the structure. The PG building could have had a religious function or be the house of the chieftain. Our thoughts go to the recent finds of Lefkandi where burials are found in the PG apsidal building.

H. Tzavella-Evjen: Have you any idea about the choice of the circular form?

R. Hägg: It is puzzling, but I can say that out of the 28 stone-settings in Troy, two or three were in fact square. Whether these square structures had the same function as the circular ones, we cannot tell.

W. Burkert: Later in Greek literature we read about *perideipna*, funeral meals which took place at home, but which could have originated in a ceremony around the grave. This concept, implying circularity, would fit your structures very well.

R. Hägg: This idea, which I purposedly avoided in my talk, would, of course, suit the structures very well. However, I rejected the idea of the structures being *tables*, because there is not enough space around them for several people to be seated. I have therefore, toyed with another possibility. Could something have been displayed on them, like a monumental tripod for example, which has left no traces? Such a tripod would have been the centre of the cere-

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[21] Eretria: C. Bérard, *L'hérôon à la porte de l'ouest* (= *Eretria* III), Berne 1970, esp. pp. 65—70. Lefkandi: recent finds, *ArchRep* 1980—81, p. 7.

[22] Especially, J. N. Coldstream, "Hero cults in the age of Homer", *JHS* 96, 1976, pp. 8—17.

[23] See, for instance, A. M. Snodgrass, *The dark age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971, pp. 194—196; R. Hägg, "Some aspects of the burial customs of the Argolid in the Dark Ages", *AAA* 13, 1980 (pr. 1981), pp. 119—126, esp. pp. 121—122; cf. also my first paper in this volume.

[24] Kurtz and Boardman (supra n. 9), pp. 144—147.

[25] W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart 1977, p. 297 with refs.

[26] G. Ahlberg, " A Late Geometric grave-scene influenced by North Syrian art", *OpAth* 7, 1967, pp. 177—186, with refs. to previous literature.

mony. A tripod of colossal dimensions has, in fact, been assumed for the PG Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi.

D. W. Rupp: The circular structures may well be ground altars used for the worship of chthonic deities. Circular structures are often associated with chthonic cults.

R. Hägg: They are not of the *bothros* type, however, with a hole in the middle, so I hesitate to designate them as altars.

J. N. Coldstream: Your very interesting idea encourages one to look for corresponding evidence in Athens, since the Athenians were so proud of being autochthonous. One place of interest here is the sanctuary of the hero Academus at Colonus. I know of no circular structures there, but a nearby votive deposit comprised about 200 kantharoi of the early ninth century.

P. Courbin: Could the circular structure within the apsidal building be simply a fire-place?

R. Hägg: No, because minimal traces of burning were found on it, and besides there was an ordinary hearth in the building.

P. Courbin: The quality of the pottery associated with these structures is quite high, and since coarse ware is ordinarily associated with meals, the meals near the tombs must have been very special.

The Symposion as Social Organisation

by
Oswyn Murray

Four types of approach are open to us if we wish to talk about the culture and social structure of eighth century Greece; none is sufficient in itself, and each must be used to check and control the others. They are the archaeological, the Homeric, the comparative and the genetic. In this paper I shall use only the last three approaches, in the expectation that my audience will be able to answer some of the questions that they may raise for the archaeologist.

I begin at the end, from the genetic, by which I mean the reconstruction of an earlier state of society by the study of its descendants. It is increasingly recognised that the rituals and practices of the *symposion* lie behind many of the most characteristic features of Archaic poetry and art. The modern emphasis on the occasion of performance and the intended audience has led to the conclusion that much, perhaps most, of Archaic poetry was specifically intended to be performed at *symposia,* or can at least be related to the symposiac situation more or less directly, and that the subject matter and generic forms of lyric reflect this fact. I need only mention recent work on Alcaeus by J. Trumpf, and the interesting book of W. Rösler, *Dichter und Gruppe* (1980).[1] Art historians seem to have been less active in pursuing a similar line, except in funerary art, a fertile field for studies in the iconography of and theories about the meaning of the representations of *symposia* in Greek and Etruscan funerary monuments of the Archaic period: we await eagerly J.-M. Dentzer's major work on this subject.[2] Less thought seems to me to have been paid (probably because it seems too obvious to need comment) to the fact that the supremacy of the art of pottery over other forms of art for much of the Archaic period is directly related to the demand for fine painted pottery created by the aristocratic *symposion.*[3] Is is scarcely possible to envisage a general explanation of the Greek achievement in pottery, which did not accept that in terms both of shapes (and hence of function) and of style and content of decoration—that is in terms of both potter and painter—the art existed primarily to serve the needs of the *symposion,* and reflected the taste of its aristocratic patrons. Such at least is the shared assumption of myself and my two co-authors of a collaborative work on the social history, literature and art of the *symposion* in the Archaic and Classical periods.

In social history I begin from a problem which has worried Greek historians for many years. We know that early Greek society was aristocratic in some broad and general sense, yet we have great difficulty in defining the exact sense in which we use that word 'aristocratic'.[4] We assume that organs of social control existed through which the aristocracy could manipulate the other orders of society, the Homeric *laos* or the Homeric and later *demos* (whether these two are the same or not). But every attempt to establish what those social controls were seems to break down. Most recently the comfortable assumption that one day we would be able to understand the interrelations between *phyle, phratria,* and *genos,* and find revealed a system that Aristotle and Engels could accept, has been systematically demolished by the sepa-

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This paper defends and develops ideas put forward in my *Early Greece,* London 1980, notably in chapters 3 and 12. I am very grateful to Robin Hägg for the chance of extending these views and putting them before a professional audience, and would like here to say how much I learned from the conference in general and from the subsequent discussion of this contribution.

[1] J. Trumpf, "Über das Trinken in der Poesie des Alkaios", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 12, 1973, pp. 139—60; W. Rösler, *Dichter und Gruppe,* München 1980.

[2] See already "Aux origines de l'iconographie du banquet couché", *RA* 1971, pp. 215—58; the book has now appeared: *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VIIe au IVe siècle avant J.-C.,* Rome 1982.

[3] Note as an exception for the Classical period the work of T. B. L. Webster, especially *Potter and Painter in Classical Athens,* London 1972.

[4] Most recently I note the claim of Chester G. Starr, *The Economic and Social Growth of Early Greece, 800—500 B.C.,* New York 1977, ch. VI, that the emergence of an aristocracy is a late phenomenon belonging to the Archaic age itself.

rate efforts of F. Bourriot and D. Roussel.[5] The *genos* itself has become problematic, and no longer seems to help us to understand a world in which entities called Peisistratidai and Alkmeonidai collude and quarrel, or where Theognis can curse the *genos* of the Kypselidai (894): we no longer know what these groups were and how they acquired or maintained their power.

It is my view that the organ of social control which we seek is to be found in the *symposion*, which is as important and all pervasive in political and social history as it is in the history of literature and vase-painting. It is the *symposion* which gave the aristocratic world of Archaic Greece its characteristic qualities: without the *symposion* we cannot begin to understand early Greek society. The reason why this truth has been only partially recognised lies, I suggest, in two facts. The first is the dominance in anthropological circles for much of this century of the study of kinship groups, and the belief that Greek society must ultimately be explained in terms of kinship; about this I shall have more to say later. The second is that historians often still tend to think in quasi-juridical terms, of distinct institutions with distinct names. The importance of the drinking group in early Greece is obscured by the fact that it goes under so many different names. To catalogue them all would require the industry of an Athenaeus, who in book xi tries to list all the names for drinking cups: I am not yet ready to do this, though there are incomplete lists in Ziebarth and others. I give only a few examples from (probably) the Archaic period, in order to illustrate a simple point: *phratria, syssition, hetairia, andreion, phidition, syskenion, synomosia, enomotia, eranos.*[6] The point is this, that these words do not refer to distinct types of entities, but to a general and widespread social phenomenon: we modern historians are happy to say that the *hetairiai* of Gortyn function in many of the same ways as the *phratriai* of Athens;[7] the ancient sources saw no difference in Crete between *syssitia, hetairiai,* and *andreia*;[8] while in another case, the Spartan army, we have a shrewd suspicion that the distinction between *enomotiai, triekades,* and *syssitia* (Hdt. 1.65) is the result of a later systematisation of a pre-existing group of social institutions.[9] All these words and many others refer to the same phenomenon, for which I use (as the most neutral term possible) the classical Greek designation *symposion*, the group of men which expresses its identity through the ritual drinking session, and which is capable of many transformations in the developed Archaic city-state.

But this view of Archaic society itself entails a view of pre-Archaic society, to which I now turn. The Homeric feast is a well known institution; but what requires emphasising is its importance as a structural element within Homeric society. There seems to be no widespread evidence for a feudal-type society in early Greece, such as for instance Fustel de Coulanges supposed: the various forms of obligated servitude created by conquest (as in Sparta and Argos, but not apparently other Dorian communities), or perhaps surviving from the Mycenaean period (as at Athens), are special and local phenomena. In this respect peasantry and aristocracy are relatively independent of each other, as in Homer.

The Homeric hero can of course rely on his *anchisteia*, his circle of close relatives going back to his grandfather or great-grandfather: it is for instance this group which is expected to avenge his murder. But two points need to be made. Firstly this is a very restricted group, far more restricted than we often suppose—in the case of murder essentially father, brother or son;[10] and secondly it appears to be very seldom invoked, and to be less cohesive than we might at first imagine: close kinship is far less often emphasised as the basis for common action than for instance guest-friendship. We should indeed expect that the *anchisteia* would form the nucleus of any wider grouping, at least for particular purposes (such as the avenging of homicide), and more especially in the case of the most prominent families: does not Agamemnon sail to redress the wrongs of his brother Menelaus? But Agamemnon and Menelaus are not the whole expedition; and in general Homeric society seems to reveal a more fluid situation, where supporters are not usually members of a close kinship or quasi-kinship group. The virtual absence of kinship terms as part of the social organisation in Homer is notorious, and has always caused trouble.

In this situation the attracting of support from outside the family was achieved through displays of generosity, and in particular through the use of surplus agricultural produce for the feasting and entertainment of male companions, whom for convenience I call *hetairoi*, while recognising that the Homeric vocabulary is more complex and not perhaps entirely consistent.[11] *Hetairoi* are normally not relatives by

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[5] F. Bourriot, *Recherches sur la nature du génos: étude d'histoire sociale Athénienne—périodes archaïque et classique*, Diss. Lille 1976; D. Roussel, *Tribu et cité*, Paris 1976. See also the conclusions of S. C. Humphreys, "Family tombs and tomb cult in ancient Athens: tradition or traditionalism?" *JHS* 100, 1980, pp. 96—126.

[6] The most complete lists are in E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, Leipzig 1896.

[7] For instance R. F. Willetts, *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete*, London 1955, pp. 23—4.

[8] Athenaeus 4.143 = Dosiadas, *FGrHist* 458 F 2.

[9] See below.

[10] *Iliad* 9.632—6; *Odyssey* 24.433—6. It is only killing *within* the family which involves a wider group, naturally, since in such a case the immediate family cannot perform its usual function: *Iliad* 2.661—6; *Odyssey* 15.272—4.

[11] Note especially the problem of the relationship between ἑταῖρος and ἕτης: despite A. Andrewes, "Phratries in Homer", *Hermes* 89, 1961, pp. 134—7, I doubt whether ἕτης is a kinship term.

blood or marriage, but men attracted to the leader by ties which may indeed become hereditary, but which in origin are created by the reception of entertainment from their leader, or, in the wider sphere of inter-community relations, by the acceptance of guest-friendship and *xeneia* (guest-gifts). Of this society the *megaron* hall is the outward physical embodiment:

> Eumaeus, this must surely be the fine house of Odysseus: it would be easy to recognise and pick out even among many. There are buildings on buildings, and the court is well fenced with a wall and cornice, and the double gates are well protected: no man could force it. And I see that many men are feasting within, for the smell of fat is there, and the lyre sounds, which the gods have made as companion to the feast. (*Odyssey* 17.264—71)

It is the function of feasting which distinguishes the aristocratic house.

Those who feast together do so on equal terms, for to create gradations is to create enmities rather than obligations; the marks of honour are usually temporary and the result of general consent: they consist merely of special portions of food or extra wine, not the more formal and potentially permanent special seat. The feasting can also be reciprocal: Telemachus 'feasts at equal feasts . . . for all invite him', according to Odysseus' mother (*Od.* 11.185—7); and Telemachus himself orders the suitors, 'leave my halls and prepare other feasts, eating your own belongings, going in turn from house to house' (*Od.* 2.139—40). The suitors are indeed a sort of black band of *hetairoi,* out of control because their host and leader is not present. But this equality and reciprocity of feasting only serves to create a competitive society, where each noble strives through 'feasts of merit' to acquire yet more *timē* or influence.

I borrow the designation of 'feasts of merit' from the anthropologist Schuyler Jones in his book, *Men of Influence in Nuristan.*[12] His study of the isolated Kafir communities of Nuristan, in non-Moslem Afghanistan, sought 'to examine the political organization of a society in which leaders have influence rather than authority and where an uncomplicated technology is used to meet the demands of a highly competitive ethos' (p. vii). The society offers many structural similarities to that depicted in Homer, most notably the treatment of craftsmen, the role of the arbitrator or *basileus* in law, the symbolic significance of objects of prestige such as tripods and cauldrons, the importance of hospitality, and the feast of merit:

> The most striking feature of social, economic, and political activities in Kalashum society is the degree to which the majority of the *atrožan* continually pursue social prestige, the manner in which they jealously maintain that which has been achieved, and the swiftness of the response should it be considered that even the slightest part of that prestige has been injured. Competitive to an extraordinary degree, the *atrožan* of Waigal Valley have taken advantage of the more favourable aspects of the physical environment and developed their economy far beyond the dictates of ordinary subsistence requirements . . . In considering feasts of merit we are involved with the relationship between an arbitrarily determined scarcity of highly desirable rank positions and the use to which an agricultural surplus is put. The rank of an individual was achieved and his status enhanced primarily through the activities of his lineage segment, the members of which endeavoured to maximize agricultural produce in order to distribute it throughout the village in his name . . .
>
> A man is obliged to give certain feasts if he is to acquire and retain the minimum respect of his fellow villagers. By the giving of such obligatory feasts a man does not achieve rank, he merely becomes eligible to achieve rank. An individual who does not fulfil his minimum obligations in this respect is considered to be of no social or political consequence. "What he says means nothing. He is like *bari-šewala*; his speaking is not effective." Such a man is not asked to be a mediator because he has no influence. To say of a man that "he did not give a feast when his father died" is to sum up the most profound criticisms that can be made of an individual's behaviour in this society. (Jones, pp. 165—8.)

Similarly in Homeric society the relationships created in the 'feast of merit' served in general to enhance the status of the noble *basileus* within the community, and in particular provided him with a band of *hetairoi* obligated to follow him in military and naval exploits, from petty cattle raiding and piracy to accepting his leadership in more formal warfare.

It is at this point that the interests of the aristocracy and the community coincide, for it was obviously to the advantage of the community to encourage and support as powerful a military force as possible. The inter-relationship of feasting with public and private military activity is well shown in Odysseus' imaginary account of his early life on Crete. The illegitimate son of a Cretan noble, he had been cheated of his share of the inheritance, but through his valour he won a wife from a rich and aristocratic family. He became a professional warrior: 'Work was not dear to me, nor the care of a household, which rears fine children; but oared ships were always dear to me, and wars and well polished spears and arrows, bitter things which cause others to shudder'. Nine times he had led expeditions overseas, and he grew rich. His fame was such that the people forced him to lead them on the Trojan expedition: 'Nor was there any way of refusing, for the voice of the people was hard on me'.

> οὐδέ τι μῆχος
> ἦεν ἀνήνασθαι, χαλεπὴ δ'ἔχε δήμου φῆμις.

Nine years they fought. And on his return he set out again with his *hetairoi*: 'Nine ships I fitted out, and the people (λαός) gathered swiftly; six days then my noble companions feasted with me, and I gave them many victims that they might prepare a feast for

[12] London 1974.

themselves.' On the seventh day they set sail for Egypt and disaster (*Odyssey* 14.199—258).

In peacetime the activities of the warrior elite are private, in wartime they are public and supported by the community. The expedition to Troy is envisaged as a public one; those who refused to go suffered a public fine (ϑωή: *Iliad* 13.669), and the feasting on the expedition was at public expense: 'Dear leaders and captains of the Argives, who drink at public cost (οἱ . . . δήμια πίνουσιν) with the sons of Atreus, Agamemnon and Menelaus, and each command your bands . . .' (*Iliad* 17.248—51; compare 4.343—6). I take it that the famous speech of Sarpedon to Glaucus (12.310—28) refers to a more permanent version of this state of affairs: the two men are honoured *first* 'with seats of honour and full cups in Lycia', *then* with quasi-divine status, and *finally* with a *temenos*; the land is provided for the function of feasting. For the people are made to say, 'Our nobles that rule in Lycia are great men, they eat fat sheep and drink the best honey-sweet wine. But they are powerful men, for they fight with the first of the Lycians'. It is the aspect of feasting which is emphasised throughout.

Between all these elements there is a structural relationship. The production of an agricultural surplus maintains a companionage attracted by the generosity and the personal status of the leader; his style of life and even the physical layout of his dwelling (with its Great Hall and its store-rooms at the centre) reflect the need for constant renewal of the ties of loyalty. And the warrior bands are both independent of the community and also at its service.

Of course we have been warned often enough of the danger of taking heroic poetry in general and Homer in particular as evidence for real societies. The reason why I think we are entitled to use such evidence in this particular sphere is that it seems to relate to and confirm the picture of the importance of the *symposion* in the Archaic period. The development of the *symposion* out of the Homeric feast shows the same type of social change that we find elsewhere. In funerary customs, the warrior grave of the heroic champion with his public funeral and posthumous cult gives way to the private luxury of the sympotic death. The process reflects the shift of military power from the aristocratic champion with his companions to the state-organised hoplite army: the aristocracy withdraws and becomes an aristocracy of leisure. So too with the *symposion*: the aristocratic life-style became enclosed within itself, no longer relevant to wider social functions; the *symposion* became a refuge from the real world, an escape into entertainment and luxury for its own sake. Orientalising customs, such as reclining at the *symposion* instead of sitting, were introduced, the gathering became smaller and more exclusive, its arts and entertainments more luxurious throughout the Archaic period. The ritual of the *symposion* also of course became more diffused, as the new military class took on the attitudes of the old, and even intruded itself into the public sphere. The people honoured its heroes and their descendants with public rights of feasting, and an invitation to dine at public expense was always a signal honour in the classical city state.

But much of the social and political importance of the aristocratic *symposion* remained throughout the Archaic period. The evidence of Alcaeus shows that political life at Mytilene was still dominated by the male groups who feasted together in the Great Hall (and the *thiasoi* of Sappho are the female reflection of the same dominant life-style). In Athens the *phratria*, a grouping whose later character in Classical Athens surely suggests that it should be seen as in origin a Homeric-type feasting companionage based on one or more aristocratic families rather than as a strict genuine or imagined lineage descent-group, continued to dominate political life until the late sixth century at least.

With Athens we are already entering another area, the ability of such groups to transform themselves or be transformed in accordance with the opportunities and needs of the developed Archaic city-state. In the case of Athens the *phratriai* had become in one of their aspects bodies membership of which guaranteed citizenship—that is, they had acquired public functions as part of the formal organisation of the *polis*. This transformation is easy to understand in terms of the continuing dominance of the aristocracy in a changing environment. More striking is the case of Sparta, where the organisation and the life style of the new hoplite army of the *homoioi* was modelled on the old aristocratic organisation, which was extended and systematised to create an all-embracing social system. For the Herodotean account of the Spartan army (1.65) divided into *enomotiai, triekades* and *syssitia* is more plausibly understood thus as a universalisation by the *polis* of the aristocratic *symposion* and *hetairia* organisation, than as the reflection of some original specifically Dorian system of common meals.

My purpose is not however to explain Archaic Greek history, but to use it to support the historicity of a view of Homeric society. In doing so I have omitted many possible areas of relevance, the questions for instance of forerunners or continuity with the Mycenean age, of religious feasting in general and in particular the funerary feast, in order to concentrate on the central social phenomenon. I will end with two consequences.

The first relates to archaeology, and should be put in the form of a question: how far is it possible to see in the material remains clear evidence of this social system? Two areas may be mentioned. The first is the reflection of the importance of the drinking group in the evidence of architecture. The *megaron* halls of the eighth century at Zagora on Andros and Emporio on Chios are well known, and it seems to me that Dr. Schilardi's excavations at Koukounaries on Paros reveal the same type of leader's house: we may hope

that more excavations of eighth century settlements will show this to be a common pattern. The second area I would point to is suggested by the importance of sympotic pottery in Archaic Greece: it is my impression that the cup and the mixing bowl are equally dominant in the eighth century, and indeed earlier, but it is for others to confirm or deny this impression, and explore its implications.

The second consequence relates to the comparative aspect of our problem. I am well aware that talking about *Männerbünde* in a room full of Saxons and Vikings is bound to lead to trouble, but nevertheless:—

Our thoughts on the *Männerbund* (a word which incidentally I find impossible to translate into English) go back to the original formulation of this phenomenon in Heinrich Schurtz's famous book, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde.*[13] In many ways my characterisation of early Greek history offers support for his general view of the *Männerbund* as one certainly of the 'Grundformen der Gesellschaft', as at least as important in Greek society if not more important than the family or patrilineal descent group; and I must emphasise that Schurtz was in essence correct to see these two forms of organisation as in structural opposition to each other: the more weight we lay on the sympotic *hetairia,* the less importance must be given to the *genos*—that is one of the attractions of my argument. But Schurtz's examples were chosen to suggest an original type of organisation based on an egalitarian tribal structure: in the case of Greece I see the phenomenon as closely tied to the needs, aims and life-style of an aristocracy. Moreover Schurtz laid great emphasis on the importance of the age group principle in the creation of the *Männerbund.* Now it seems to me that the evidence adduced for age groups in Greece, from H. Jeanmaire's work on Sparta to the observations of Pierre Vidal-Naquet on the Athenian *ephebeia,*[14] suggests that the age group organisations of Greece were not primary, but a secondary response to the existence of the *Männerbund* in the historical period. Perhaps that is merely to say that we do not have the evidence to talk about the organisations of young men in early Greece. At least I do not think that we should generalise the evidence from Sparta and Crete, or throw it back into the distant past, without careful thought. For if we are to return to the concept of the *Männerbund* as an explanatory principle in history, we should recognise that it is capable both of originating in different ways, and of developing into different forms.

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Discussion

B. Bohen: With reference to your Archaic vessels in the symposion, I would like to go further back. Kraters are well-represented in the PG period 1050—900 B.C. and signs of wear in the interior lead me to believe that they were very much in use. From 900 B.C. onwards, when the aristocracy began to emerge, the krater became much larger. I believe that kraters were used as symposion vessels, for mixing wine, already in the PG period, and went on being used in this way into the Geometric period, when they also became suitable grave-markers, symbols of the aristocracy.

N. Marinatos: I find O. Murray's ideas about the symposion very persuasive, but we should not overemphasize the importance of the *hetairoi* as a force of social cohesion, since the family, as the centre of cult, remained the focus of Archaic Greek society.

O. Murray: I totally agree with you, of course: Archaic Greece is a remarkably religious society. Yet, religion was not important as an instrument for politics. I see religion as more closely related to the family, and the *hetairoi* as belonging more to the political sphere.

S. Hiller: I would like to point out that in the Late Bronze Age we have buildings suitable for *symposia,* as well as kraters and *kylikes.*

J. Schäfer: A symposion may be depicted on the "Parisienne fresco" as reconstructed by N. Platon.

O. Murray: I do not deny that at all, but my purpose was to work backwards into the 8th century explaining the *symposion* in its social setting. And the Homeric evidence, I think, relates primarily to the 8th century, especially the picture drawn in the similes and in the lies of Odysseus.

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[13] Berlin 1902.

[14] H. Jeanmaire, *Couroi et courètes,* Lille 1939; P. Vidal-Naquet, "The Black Hunter and the origins of the Athenian *ephebeia*", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 194, 1968, pp. 49—64.

General Discussion on Population and Social Customs

O. Murray to D. Schilardi: Do the architectural remains of Koukounaries at Paros provide support for my social system of symposiac groups?

D. Schilardi: Yes, in so far as we have an apsidal chieftain's house integrated within a group of irregular, rectangular ones and then secondary houses around that. We also have benches, although none in the leader's house. One bench is found in association with burned matter which would fit well the idea of the symposium. Other evidence of banqueting comes from the PG period in terms of kraters, amphorae, cups etc., pottery which is found in a context of burned layers of ashes, but not in a funerary context.

A. Cambitoglou: I was impressed by the differences between Zagora in Andros and Koukounaries in Paros. One of them is that in Koukounaries there seem to be streets between isolated houses. In Zagora the houses are normally in clusters. What is this difference due to? Perhaps to climatic reasons? Houses clustered together are better protected from the wind. Another important difference between the two sites is that in Zagora we do not have a single apsidal house.

D. Schilardi: It seems that in Paros there was some organized town-planning reminiscent of Homer's description of Scheria. Perhaps the strong Ionian influences can explain the differences between Koukounaries and Zagora.

H. Tzavella-Evjen: Could the cellular growth observed in Zagora be explained by social factors, for example family groups living together?

J. Schäfer: Is the idea of a planned settlement an innovation of the 8th century or is there a Mycenaean tradition behind it? I have heard from my colleague K. Kilian that there is an indication of a settlement around the Mycenaean Acropolis at Tiryns. I make this suggestion because the time span between Late Mycenaean and the 8th century is not too long.

J. N. Coldstream: Perhaps the distinction between apsidal and rectangular houses is merely a chronological one. Koukounaries was revived in the middle of the tenth century when apsidal houses were very much in fashion. Zagora, on the other hand, is a settlement mainly of the 8th century. Apsidal houses are not consistent with town planning: designed as detached buildings, they are very difficult to expand. The reason for their gradual abandonment in the eighth century may have been the rise of population; they take up too much room and cannot be integrated into a larger plan. This point can be illustrated from the western colonies: at Pithekoussai before 750 there is still a preference for apsidal and oval forms, whereas from 730 onwards the earliest colonial houses of Syracuse near the Athena sanctuary in Ortygia are of strictly rectangular plan.

B. Bergquist: A propos the isolating character of apsidal buildings, I would like to remark that when extreme length is added, as in the early temples, e.g. at Eretria and Thermon, the result is buildings which are quite as distinguished from secular ones as were the later peripteral temples.

R. Felsch: Apsidal buildings are also isolated in the MH period. I know of a MH settlement where the village is divided into several quarters, each quarter having one or more free-standing apsidal buildings. I do not know if the fact that they are free-standing is a sign of a special function or whether it is simply that the presence of the overhanging thatched roof makes agglutination impossible.

Gift Exchange in the Eighth Century B.C.

by
J.N. Coldstream

Geometric pots and other artifacts may travel from place to place for a variety of reasons. Perhaps the most usual, and certainly the most frequently urged reason is commerce. The objects may de desirable in their own right, or—in the case of some closed vessels—for their contents of wine, oil, or precious unguents. But during the late eighth century the general diaspora of Greeks outside the Aegean introduces another possible reason: the first Greek settlers in foreign parts, whether they be merchants at Al Mina or colonists in Italy or Sicily, will bring with them their own domestic chattels. A third familiar reason for export is provided by the rise of the great Panhellenic sanctuaries, Olympia, Delphi, and Delos, to which worshippers from many different parts of Greece brought their votive offerings, especially precious offerings in bronze and other metals.

In this short paper I offer some thoughts on a small category of exports which cannot convincingly be explained by any one of these three reasons. This much they have in common: all are large vessels, mainly open shapes. All of them carry a high prestige value, but none is so large or so rich in prestige as to be entirely useless in everyday life.

Let us begin with an Athenian pedestalled krater of the early eighth century (MG II), found at Salamis in Cyprus,[1] and much discussed in recent years. We can therefore be quite brief over the details. The krater comes from tomb 1 in the royal cemetery of Salamis, the earliest of those monumental built chambers approached by an extremely wide dromos—wide enough to accommodate the royal chariot team which was sacrificed at the funeral. So far, a typically Cypriot form of tomb, reserved apparently for royalty. But, in the earlier of its two burials, with which the krater belongs, there are some startlingly non-Cypriot features. Instead of the usual rite of inhumation upon the tomb floor, here we have a bronze cauldron containing a cremation. And although the stratification has been disturbed by looting and flooding, this cremation carried with it an astonishing concentration of Aegean imports:[2] besides the krater, twenty Attic skyphoi of the same date, forming a homogeneous group; and twelve pendent-semicircle vessels—two skyphoi and ten plates—from the northern Cyclades. This set of thirty-three Aegean imports forms well over half the total number of early eighth-century Aegean vessels so far found in Cyprus. It could be that a princely Cypriot customer happened to acquire a consignment of imported Aegean pottery before it became dispersed through haphazard trading; but, if that were so, why the mixture of two different regional fabrics, and why the cremation in a bronze cauldron with its obviously Aegean connotations?

In a volume presented in memory of Porphyrios Dikaios who excavated this tomb in 1954, two quite different explanations of this mystery have been pro-

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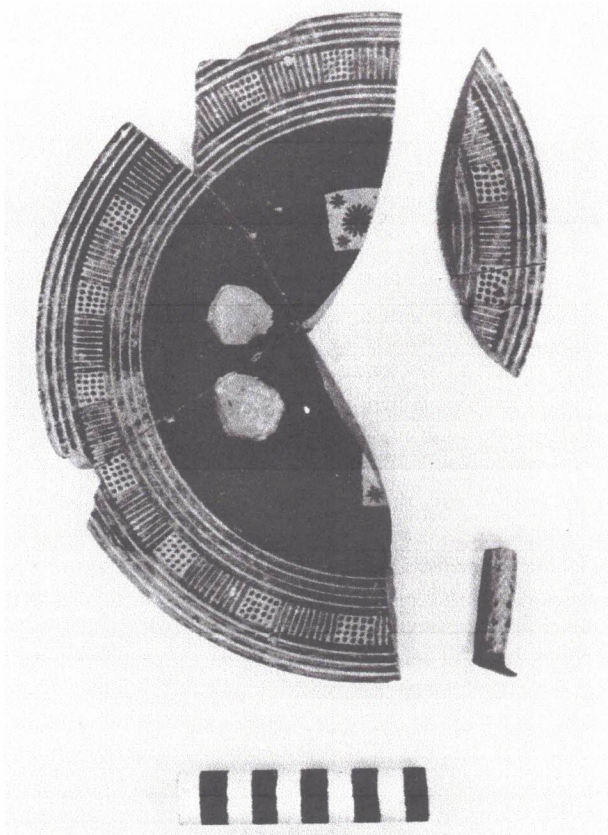
In addition to the customary abbreviations the following are also used:
GG = J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977
GGP = J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968.

[1] P. Dikaios, "A royal tomb at Salamis, Cyprus", *AA* 1963, p. 198, no. 222; pp. 199—204, Fig. 40. Also V. Karageorghis, *Salamis in Cyprus: Homeric, Hellenistic and Roman*, London 1969, p. 26, Pl. 5. Although a Euboean origin has sometimes been suggested, an examination in 1967 in the Famagusta Museum left me in no doubt that the krater is indeed Attic. The clay is orange-buff with some brown grits and a few specks of silver mica. The paint is chestnut brown, lustrous where well preserved, but badly worn in many places.

[2] Dikaios (supra n. 1), pp. 183—196, nos. 19, 22—23, 28—29, 55, 59, 67, 98, 109, 111—112, 117—118, 121—123, 127, 203, and *BCH* 89, 1965, p. 248, Fig. 27, Attic skyphoi; Dikaios, loc. cit., nos. 116, 119, North Cycladic skyphoi; nos. 2—3, 6, 57, 62, 138 ('Geometric bowl' in the mouth of an amphora), 204—207, North Cycladic plates. I attribute the pendent-semicircle vessels to the northern Cyclades rather than to Euboea since all but nos. 3, 6, and 119 contain appreciable quantities of mica. The plate no. 62 has a grey-brown polished surface reminiscent of the pendent-semicircle skyphoi from Rheneia (V.R. d'A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford 1952, Pl. 25*b*).



Figs. 1—2. Attic MG II pyxis with fragmentary lid, from Knossos, KMF tomb 219.

posed. Gjerstad[3] suggests that the first incumbent in the tomb may have been an Athenian aristocratic bride married to a Cypriot ruler: Athenian because of the cremation and the imported pots, a lady because of the gold and rock crystal beads found in the cauldron. In his view, the imports formed part of her dowry, and give us a date for the wedding. At her funeral, which Gjerstad dates to the third quarter of the century, he supposes that her ashes were placed in the cauldron, after the aristocratic burial rites of her own homeland. The second burial, an inhumation about twenty five years later, is that of her Cypriot husband, in Gjerstad's interpretation.

Gjerstad is surely correct in assigning the imported vessels a function in daily life; they were not imported merely to be placed in a tomb. There are, however, some difficulties in his reconstruction. The pendent-semicircle vessels remain unexplained; were they also to this Athenian lady's taste? More fundamentally, was their owner a woman at all? The finery inside the cauldron is not a conclusive piece of evidence, since male burials back in Athens may sometimes contain jewellery, especially gold bands.[4] And the rite of cremation, which had been the rule in Athens down to about 770, had been largely superseded by inhumation from 750 onwards.[5] True, we do know of nine cremations in Late Geometric Attica, all of them in metal cauldrons, and all of them rich.[6] One of them, however, contains an iron sword, while all but two are accompanied by either a krater or a neck-handled amphora, shapes normally associated with Attic male burials. Likewise, in the Salamis tomb, this combination of krater with drinking vessels, if found in Attica, would be much more suitable to a male[7] than a female burial. Thus I should prefer to see here a male cremation, and not necessarily of a foreigner from the Aegean; for it was Dikaios himself[8] who first linked the cauldron cremation with the sacrifice of horses, and saw therein a conscious wish to follow the 'heroic' mode of burial which we know from Homer's description of the funeral of Patroclus, at the very time when the circulation of epic poetry was beginning to be Panhellenic. But if we take away the Athenian spouse, the accumulation of Aegean imports must be explained in another way.

In the same memorial volume for Dikaios, an alternative explanation was put forward by Vincent Desborough.[9] There, in the very last paragraph of his last article, published shortly after his own death, Desborough suggested something "more than the usual run of trade", and ended by asking: "Is it possible that we have here an example of the practice of the ex-

[3] E. Gjerstad, "A Cypro-Greek royal marriage in the 8th cent. B.C.?", in: *Studies presented in memory of Porphyrios Dikaios*, Nicosia 1979, pp. 89—93.

[4] In Dipylon grave 5 (*AthMitt* 18, 1893, pp. 107—111) and Odos Kriezi grave 26 (*Deltion* 22, 1967, Chronika, p. 95) gold bands coincide with iron weapons. On the provenances of MG gold bands, with one exception all from male burials, see *GG*, p. 60, n. 10.

[5] *GG*, p. 119—120, n. 25, 26.

[6] *GG*, p. 120, nn. 28—31.

[7] Cf. *Kerameikos* V 1, Berlin 1954, graves 11, 22, 23, 30, 37.

[8] Dikaios (supra n. 1), p. 172.

[9] Desborough, "A postscript to an appendix", in supra n. 3, p. 122.

Figs. 3—4. Attic MG II krater with lid, from Knossos, KMF tomb 219.

change of gifts, in this case between one family in Cyprus and two others, of diverse origin, in the Aegean?" This theory seems an attractive one, partly because of the aristocratic connotations of these kraters in their own homeland, and partly because of the contexts in which other Attic kraters of this MG II phase have been found outside the Aegean. Indeed, several others found their way to royal capitals. In Cyprus, a very similar krater was discovered in a rich tomb in the kingdom of Amathous.[10] Fragments of a third came to light at the royal Israelite capital of Samaria.[11] Very recently part of a foot, from a similar krater, has been published from excavations at Tyre,[12] at this time the leading kingdom of the Phoenician homeland. Some pieces of a fifth krater were found in the royal quarter of Hamath[13] on the Orontes, seat of a flourishing Neo-hittite kingdom. A sixth krater is represented by one sherd only, but its context is truly astonishing: it comes from Huelva,[14] on the Atlantic coast of Spain beyond the Pillars of Heracles, the most plausible location for the semi-legendary Tartessos. This piece shows the upper part of one of those horse panels, such as flank the main meander design on the most luxurious of these Attic MG II kraters—for example, the krater from grave 22 in the Athenian Kerameikos.[15]

Now it would be rash to suppose that the Athenians of this generation already had direct dealings with remote Tartessos, well over a century before the Samian mariner Kolaios[16] was blown by a tempest to those then unknown shores. Who can say through how many hands this krater may have passed? One thinks especially of those Phoenician traders who had already established several emporia on the Andalusian coast of Spain well before the end of the eighth century;[17] their fellow-countrymen at home might have conveyed the other vessels to the inland capitals of Hamath and Samaria; indeed, all three kraters might well have travelled by way of Tyre. But the important facts here are, first, that these kraters were originally made for high society in Athens; and, second, that they eventually found their way to high places, from one end of the Mediterranean to the other.

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[10] Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* II, Stockholm 1935, pp. 79—84, tomb no. 2, Pl. 140,1.

[11] J.W. Crowfoot and K.M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste* III, London 1957, pp. 210—212, Pl. 18, 1—2; P.J. Riis, *Sukas* I, Copenhagen 1970, pp. 146—148, Fig. 49.

[12] P. Bikai, *The Pottery of Tyre,* Warminster 1978, Pl. 11*a*, no. 27.

[13] Riis, *Hama* II 1, Copenhagen 1958, p. 179, n. 3, Fig. 245; idem, *Sukas* I, p. 158, Fig. 55*a*.

[14] P. Rouillard, *Huelva Arqueologia* III, Huelva 1977, pp. 397—399, Fig. 169; M. Fernandez-Miranda, *Archivo Español de Arqueologia* 52, 1979, pp. 55—56, Fig. 1.

[15] *Kerameikos* V 1, Pls. 20, 21, inv. 290; *GG,* p. 75, Figs. 23*d*, 24*b*.

[16] Hdt. iv. 152.

[17] H.-G. Niemeyer, *MDOG* 104, 1972, pp. 5—44.

Fig. 5. Attic MG II belly-handled amphora, from Knossos, KMF tomb 219.

They were, however, already serving a dual purpose. In Athens we know of these kraters mainly from the cemeteries; some of them, like that from Kerameikos grave 22, served as monuments set above the graves of noblemen, the base having been pierced so that libations could be offered to the dead man. But, before their eventual use as grave monuments, these kraters must have served in their original function, as mixing bowls at aristocratic symposia—especially if similar kraters had been sent overseas as gifts. This dual purpose is well illustrated by another Attic MG II vessel in the Louvre,[18] perhaps from the same workshop as the krater that went to Spain; sometimes called a globular pyxis, but probably designed as a krater. Conze[19] recorded that it was discovered by Fauvel in 1813 near the later Dipylon gate, containing burnt bones; but the miniature oinochoe on its lid alludes to its original function at the aristocratic symposium. In the rare cases when the lids of eighth-century kraters are preserved, these lids are sometimes crowned with other miniatures which are equally relevant to such occasions: miniatures of the hydria[20] for diluting the wine, or of the skyphos[21] from which the diluted wine was drunk.

We should now examine another remarkable find of large Attic vessels overseas, again of this same MG II generation, recently found in the main north cemetery of Knossos. The provenance is tomb 219[22] on the site chosen for the new University of Crete's Medical Faculty excavated by the British School in 1978. This rich chamber tomb, of the usual Knossian Geometric type designed for large numbers of cremations, had been first used in Protogeometric times; but soon after 800 the chamber was cleared out to make room for a series of aristocratic burials lasting through most of the eighth century. The non-ceramic finds included iron spits and firedogs, iron weapons, a lion of Oriental faience, and an openwork gold sheet portraying a Master of Animals. And with one of the first of these burials went a homogeneous set of imported Attic vases, all MG II. First, a flat pyxis (*Figs. 1—2*),[23] one of the largest known, with traces of one terracotta horse on the lid. Second, a low-footed krater (*Figs. 3—4*),[24] complete with its lid, of which the knob takes the form of a small oinochoe. And third, a large belly-handled amphora (*Fig. 5*),[25] 104 centimetres high, and unfortunately far from complete; for although the tomb was not plundered, the floor was found in some disorder because of the deposition of the subsequent burials, and pieces of the amphora

[18] Louvre A 514: Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase-painting*, London 1962, pp. 266—267, Pl. 3; *CVA Louvre* 16, p. 9, Pl. 3. On the original function of this vessel as a wine krater see B. Bohen, *AthMitt* 91, 1976, pp. 20—21.

[19] A. Conze, *Zur Geschichte der Anfänge griechischer Kunst*, Vienna 1870, p. 11. While referring to Fauvel's excavation at the Dipylon Gate in 1813, Conze describes a vessel which can only be Louvre A 514: "une urne ronde de deux pieds de diamètre remplie d'ossements brûlés. Cette urne est d'un genre phénicien: elle est ornée de méandres. On voit des chevaux dans les compartiments, et des cochons sous les anses."

[20] See infra n. 29.

[21] *CVA München* 3, Pl. 105, inv. 6234. Also perhaps the vast pitcher Stockholm 1704 from the Dipylon Workshop (*GGP*, p. 32, no. 28). During a visit in September 1981 I noted that the knob of the lid has an upper member which is thin in section and broken all round; this may well have formed the base of a miniature drinking vessel.

[22] H.W. Catling, *ArchRep* 1979, pp. 48—49, Fig. 16.

[23] KMF T. 219.23 (body) and 59 (fragmentary lid). Height 15.7 cm. Diameter of rim 28 cm. Two pairs of suspension holes. Ring foot. No paint underneath. Lid: attachments for legs of one horse figurine. Lower part of one horse tail, not joining: chevrons down the front, two lines at either side, no paint on the back.

[24] KMF T. 219.42 (body) and 32 (lid). Body: height 37 cm., diameter of rim 36.8 cm. Inset lip, sloping downwards inside. Bucranium handles, ring foot. Lid: height 22.2 cm., diameter 35.2 cm.

[25] KMF T. 219.33. Height 104 cm., diameter of rim 33 cm. Ridge below sharply everted lip. Bucranium handles, high ring foot. On handles, vertical chevrons between curved stripes, stars in corners above.

Figs. 6—7. Euboean LG krater, from Amathous tomb 321.

were collected from all over the floor. It is quite possible that all three vases are from the same Attic workshop.[26] The amphora is certainly large enough for a grave monument in Athens, where it might have stood above the grave of an aristocratic lady—like its famous successor, Athens 804. What is it doing here, in a small Cretan chamber tomb, into which it cannot easily have fitted? It might perhaps have been used as a cremation urn; but we cannot be sure, because of its fragmentary state. At all events, it can hardly been exported to Crete for a funerary purpose. Let us suppose, then, that this fine set of vessels formed part of a gift exchange between noble families in Athens and Knossos, and that the vessels were put to use in their original functions before following their owner to the tomb. The amphora, because of its size, must have travelled empty; then, having arrived safely at Knossos, it could have held the wine for a symposium, used in conjunction with the krater.

After the early eighth century, however, Attic kraters and other large vessels were only very rarely exported. Somewhat paradoxically, one reason for this change must lie in the sudden florescence of the figured style, in the hands of the Dipylon Master and his colleagues. In MG times a few large vessels had already been made as grave markers;[27] but from about 760 onwards all the most impressive Attic vases are enlarged far beyond what is useful in daily life, now intended solely as aristocratic grave monuments, and therefore covered with images of death and battle.

Meanwhile the kingdoms of Cyprus continued to receive Aegean kraters and drinking vessels; but these are now Euboean—and not merely because the Euboeans frequently sailed that way. Unlike the Athenians, the Euboean aristocracy were not honoured with elaborately decorated vessels made specially for their funerals; thus Euboean figured painting alludes not to death but to life,[28] and even the most impres-

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[26] This supposition may seem rash in the absence of any figured painting to establish the painter's personality, but on all three vases the choice of ornament and the brushwork are very similar. In addition, all three share some unusual features: (1) the sixteen-point star as a filling ornament (see pyxis lid); (2) diagonal hatching of the meander without any change of direction; (3) four-line divisions instead of the usual three lines, on the pyxis lid and in the vertical panels of the other two vases. Common to the krater and the amphora are (4) chains of lozenges of an unusual square shape.

[27] E.g. *Kerameikos* V 1, Pl. 22, inv. 1254, with the earliest known mourning figure painted above the handle; *GG*, p. 61, Fig. 17*g, h*.

[28] Coldstream, "Some characteristics of the Euboean Geometric figured style", in: *Grecia, Italia e Sicilia nell' VIII e VII sec. A.C.: Convegno internazionale . . . dalla Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 1979*, forthcoming in *ASAtene*.

sive Euboean shapes still remain serviceable in a domestic context. For the famous closed krater found at Kourion[29] by L. P. di Cesnola, the context is not altogether clear. Because it is complete, it is likely to have ended up in a tomb chamber; but it can hardly have made its long journey merely as a tomb offering. Nor can we easily believe that a vase of this size and quality was acquired through casual trade. It surely came to Kourion as a gift, presented by some Euboean nobleman to grace the banquets of a Cypriot prince, with the capacity to entertain a large gathering. On the lid, the allusion to the symposium takes the sober form of the hydria; but, by a happy chance, the same find at Kourion includes an oinochoe[30] by the same hand, and no doubt destined for the same symposium set. And now the Cesnola krater is joined by another large Euboean gift to Cyprus: a pedestalled krater (*Figs. 6—7*) of the late eighth century, recently found in a tomb at Amathous[31] by the Department of Antiquities.

Now if these large imported vessels were intended as aristocratic gifts, it might seem curious that they should be confined to clay, in contrast to those lavish metal tripods and other vessels exchanged between Homeric heroes.[32] Yet, as we know, the bronze tripod cauldrons of Greek Geometric type are found only in sanctuaries—another form of gift exchange, indeed, if as votives they obtained the desired result. Why such vast enlargements of a kitchen utensil should apparently be reserved for the gods is a mystery which we cannot attempt to examine here. But in the rich tombs we do not even find any metallic counterparts to the pottery kraters—and this seems strange, in view of some details which might suggest a metallic original, for example the ribs on the Middle Geometric stems, and the bosses[33] sometimes found near the rim. True, Salamis in Cyprus has produced a bronze vessel[34] with a ribbed pedestal recalling the Attic pedestalled krater; but its upper part takes the form of a cauldron with bull protomes, winged sun discs, Egyptian Hathor heads, and palmettes in relief—a characteristically Cypriot hotchpotch of Greek and Oriental ideas, which cannot have travelled very far before being offered in the abundantly rich tomb 79 in the royal Salaminian cemetery. Indeed, the only place where an imported bronze cauldron apparently comes from a Greek tomb context is Cumae, at the other end of the Greek world;[35] but this is a wholly Oriental type with bull protomes, paralleled in Urartu and in the largest royal Phrygian tumulus at Gordion.[36] This cauldron might well have been a gift from the Phrygian royal family, if we bear in mind the marriage tie between king Midas and a princess of Aeolian Kyme,[37] possibly one of the Italian colony's mother cities.[38] But we must wait at least a hundred years after this time, before any large bronze vessels passed in the other direction, from the Greeks to the outside world; we must wait until the export of that splendid series of Peloponnesian vessels, beginning with the Grachwyl hydria,[39] and culminating with the Vix krater,[40] a spectacular gift to a remote Celtic chieftain who may have controlled the tin route from Britain to the Mediterranean.

Returning to the much less affluent world of the early eighth century, we may have to accept that large clay vessels made in the finest Attic workshops could in their time have enjoyed a prestige comparable to that of the later Archaic bronze vessels. Their distribution is certainly no less remarkable. As gifts, they might also have had a prospective purpose: the king of Hamath, for example, also commanded an important metal route leading into the Syrian and Mesopotamian interior. In any case, the export of very large Geometric pots requires an explanation other than that of casual trade; in spite of the many uncertainties which surround their conveyance, the hypothesis of gift exchange is well worth considering.[41]

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[29] Coldstream, *BICS* 18, 1971, pp. 1—15, Pl. 1; *GG*, p. 192, Fig. 61c. The 'treasure chamber' in which Cesnola claims to have found this krater (*Cyprus: its ancient cities, tombs, and temples*, London 1977, pp. 332—334) might well have been a rich chamber-tomb in the Kaloriziki cemetery: cf. J. L. Benson, *The necropolis of Kaloriziki* (= *SIMA* XXXVI), Göteborg 1973. For other 'royal' contents of the 'treasure', perhaps of later date, see T. B. Mitford, *BICS* 10, 1963, pp. 27—30.

[30] Coldstream, *BICS* 18, 1971, p. 2, Pl. 2a.

[31] Limassol 834.283 from Amathous tomb 321: Karageorghis, *RDAC* 1980, Fig. 33. Especially characteristic of Euboean LG is the combination of bird and lozenge; cf. *GGP*, pp. 192—193.

[32] E.g. *Il.* ix. 263—266, *Od.* xiii. 13—14.

[33] P. Courbin, *La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide*, Paris 1966, p. 253, nn. 4, 5.

[34] Karageorghis, *Excavations in the necropolis of Salamis* III, Nicosia 1973, pp. 108—114, Figs. 25—29, Pls. 243, 246.

[35] P. Amandry, in *The Aegean and the Near East: studies presented to Hetty Goldman*, New York 1956, pp. 242—243, Pl. 28.

[36] R. S. Young, *AJA* 62, 1958, pp. 151—152, Pl. 26, Fig. 18.

[37] Aristotle fr. 611.37, ed. by Rose. Cf. H. T. Wade-Gery, *The poet of the Iliad*, Cambridge 1952, p. 7, n. 21; G. L. Huxley, 'Titles of Midas', *GRBS* 2, 1959, pp. 94—99. In connection with the cauldrons, Homeric and Phrygian gift-giving is briefly discussed by K. DeVries. "Greeks and Phrygians in the Early Iron Age", in: *From Athens to Gordion: papers of a memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young*, Philadelphia 1980, pp. 41—42.

[38] Strabo 243: Hippocles of Kyme is mentioned as one of the two founders. We are not told whether this Kyme is the Aeolian city or the Euboean village; it is possible that both places sent some colonists.

[39] Neugebauer, *AA* 1925, col. 193, Beil. 1, 2.

[40] R. Joffroy, "La Tombe de Vix", *MonPiot* 48, 1954, pp. 1—64; U. Gehrig, *AA* 1971, pp. 602—612, with further references.

[41] For permission to publish the vases illustrated here, I thank the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens (*Figs. 1—5*) and Dr V. Karageorghis (*Figs. 6—7*). I also thank Professor G. L. Huxley for reading this article in manuscript and for his helpful suggestions.

Discussion

B. Bohen: I think that your derivation of the type 2 krater from a metal prototype is very convincing. I have a question though, and that is why not assume that Athenian settlers brought their pottery with them? This would also pertain to the Knossian material.

J. N. Coldstream: I am not sure that Athenians settled abroad in any great quantities in the 8th century. At Al Mina, for example, it is very hard to find any Attic drinking cups as opposed to Euboean or Cycladic. As regards the enormous vases found in Knossos, North cemetery, Tomb 219, all I can say is that if they were brought by an Athenian, I cannot see traces of Athenian burial customs in that tomb or anywhere else in that cemetery. I might add that among 10th century finds there is part of an Attic belly amphora of the PG period. I suspect that a Knossian family had Athenian connections for some centuries.

P. Courbin: The kraters were gifts exchanged for *what*?

J. N. Coldstream: It is hard to say; possibly access to metalliferous areas. This might explain the exports to the Levant, and the more surprising exports to the far west—that is, if they were conveyed by Greeks. And even if a Phoenician middleman was involved, he would still have thought of the Attic kraters as articles of prestige.

H. Furuhagen: Mediterranean merchants need ports for shelter, fresh water and food; they have to establish friendship which they achieve through gift exchange. See *Odyssey* book 2, where a merchant with a ship full of iron comes to Odysseus' house because he is an old friend.

O. Murray: I want to make a point about the notion of gift exchange. It seems to me that we mislead ourselves with the idea that this is a reciprocal relationship. In general, what we call gift exchange is in fact the giving of a gift to a person; and the reciprocal aspect if it is present at all may not materialize until perhaps a generation later. In Homer, there is only *one* example of a true gift exchange (Glaucus and Diomedes); all other examples are of gifts being given. The expectation may well be that one day you will receive a gift in return, but that is not the primary aspect of the ritual. There is also a wider consequence of J. N. Coldstream's hypothesis: either some Knossians were visiting Athens or Athenians visited Knossos; there was a cultural relationship that made these gifts useful or symbolically important.

Final General Discussion

W. Burkert: I have honour to chair this final discussion where we will be able to draw some conclusions and mention some paralipomena. I now give the word to the organizer of the symposium who has prepared some topics which he thinks merit discussion.

R. Hägg: I will present here some of the aspects that have been brought up, attempting to put them in some logical order.

The paper by S. Hiller was the one to attempt a definition of the word *Renaissance* and suggest an explanation of why the phenomenon occurred in the 8th century, not earlier and not later in Greek history.

O. Murray has suggested that we should try to define what we mean by *Renaissance* in the context of the 8th century. We should attempt to clarify this term and to discuss its appropriateness.

The subtitle of this symposium, tradition and innovation, stresses the aspect of what is old and traditional and what is revived on the other hand. But we should also investigate whether what we see as new is a result of internal development or external influences, from the East mainly, but even from the North or West. Refluxes from these areas are also possible, theoretically at least.

We have heard many divergent opinions on the issue of continuity versus discontinuity, in religion, art, architecture, cults, transmission of myths and rituals. Equally important is, it appears to me, to investigate regional differences in the 8th century. They are most apparent in the pottery and burial customs and perhaps discernible also in the metal work and other crafts. Opposed to these observations is the impression that there was a common heritage of the people in the various regions that made them all feel like Greeks. This may sound like a disputable assumption, maybe anachronistic even. But I mean that those who listened to Homer and who were speaking some sort of Greek, felt that Achaean heroes were their ancestors in conflict with non-Greek adversaries. This explains the rapid spread of the epic and its popularity, and as I suggested the first day, I think that the effect of the Homeric epics was to strengthen the vague feeling of belonging together and to counteract the diversity of the regions.

Time and again these days we have touched upon the social and economic development, the problem of the rise of the aristocracy and other indications of a growing differentiation of society, the increase of population, traces of urbanization, the introduction of the alphabet, the probable existence of a pre-monetary currency, the changing of attitudes towards death and afterlife, and of course the crucial question of the emergence of the *polis*.

In the sphere of religion we have noted the occurrence of temple buildings, more or less clearly defined, where the hearth-altar-temple forms a special category worthy of discussion; and of altars of various forms and of cult images. The metal work-shops connected with sanctuaries and their meaning for the economy and cults are an intriguing problem. Finally, the birth of the pan-Hellenic sanctuaries of Delphi, Olympia and Delos should be examined again as a very important factor for the unity of the Greek world.

One final aspect: what happened around 700? Why and where did people disappear? Why this decline at the end of the 8th century?

The Meaning of 'Renaissance' and Reasons for its Occurrence in the 8th century B.C.: Continuity versus Discontinuity

W. Burkert: It is clear that it was not a Renaissance like that of the 14th or 15th century A.D. There were no texts to be rediscovered, not much art was rediscovered, etc. It was mainly a re-emergence of a complete society.

J. Schäfer: I think we can keep the term Renaissance since we are dealing with what I would call in German "eine bewusste Beziehung auf die Vergangenheit".

C. Rolley: My starting point will be a particular question, so that I can move into a more general problem. This morning we have talked about the origin and function of apsidal buildings, and whether the architectural form is a revival from Middle Helladic times. I think R. Felsch made a very acute remark concerning the restrictions imposed upon such buildings by the nature of their roofs. It is in fact known, that apsidal buildings are easy to construct; we see such houses belonging to shepherds even today in the Greek countryside. Therefore, when houses are constructed in a culture without an architectural tradition to look back to, it is natural that they will have an apsidal form. I must, therefore, caution against overinterpreting the similarity with Middle Helladic forms. I am convinced that the apsidal house was a re-invention which, as J.N. Coldstream pointed out, was abandoned with the coming of urbanism. The same approach may be applied to other subjects of continuity. I would like to ask S. Hiller and B.C. Dietrich certain questions:

Similarities do not indicate survival, e.g. in phallus-cult. Take masks, for example, which are similar all over the ancient world. Then, on the question of *xoana* with upraised arms that S. Hiller talked about. First, I cannot accept that they were preserved through the centuries (the case of bronze figurines is very different). Secondly, the gesture of upraised arms is a natural one to attribute to the epiphany of the deity. Perhaps I may be permitted to compare it with the figure of General de Gaulle. Churchill raised his fingers only as a sign for victory, and de Gaulle imitated him thinking that he was doing the same. But it was not that at all, it was a gesture of heroic epiphany! I do not think that in this case we have an influence from the Minoan goddess on de Gaulle! Thus, when we see an isolated phenomenon, a pictorial representation of a *xoanon* with upraised arms, is it not more prudent to assume a blending of two motives, that of the antiquity of the cult image (*xoanon*) and that of the epiphany (upraised arms), than to posit a survival?

W. Burkert: I think this was a necessary remark: continuity has to be proven to be acceptable.

S. Hiller: I will try to answer the points by C. Rolley. Of course we have apsidal houses all over the world, and of course they do not all belong to the same tradition. But the point is that the apsidal house is not the only feature that survives but *one* of many. Let me remind you of the cist graves, kantharos-type vessels (which almost disappear during the Mycenaean times to re-emerge in the Dark Ages), lack of figurative art, lack of ostentatious religious elements such as temples, altars, etc. Even more features are enumerated by A.M. Snodgrass in his book on the Dark Ages. Therefore, what you call discontinuity, I call a revival of the Middle Helladic tradition in the Dark Ages. As about the epiphany gesture of General de Gaulle, you are right that some things occur spontaneously and naturally. On the other hand, it is clear that this gesture of upraised arms was not at all popular with the Greeks and is not seen on their later cult images.

You have stated that wooden images would not have been easily preserved. And yet Pausanias, touring Greece in the 2nd century A.D., reports many *xoana* presumably from the Archaic period or earlier. If these *xoana* lasted for some eight centuries, why not accept that Mycenaean ones lasted for five? Besides, cult images belong to the most precious objects that people possess, and they would be treasured and kept.

Some historical reasons for the revival of Middle Helladic features: perhaps they can be explained by the influx of people from the North and West, people that lived on the fringes of the Mycenaean world and had maintained a "Helladic" tradition uncontaminated by Mycenaean developments.

Finally, why the apsidal buildings disappeared. When the Greeks rediscovered their Mycenaean past in the 8th century they also rediscovered the megaron type and modelled their temples on that. The propylon also is a Mycenaean idea.

B.C. Dietrich: A lengthy defense is inappropriate here. I will merely try to establish some principles: W. Burkert said that *continuity* has to be proved, conversely one might say that *discontinuity* has also to be proved.

Continuity of site does not prove continuity of cult, but at the same time, the temporary abandonment of a settlement does not necessarily prove discontinuity of cult.

Continuity can be established by non-material evidence, e.g. language, names of gods, even through the continuity of the same technical vocabulary of cult and daily usage, myth, festivals and traditions such as cave-cult which was reflected in myth.

It all comes down to a difference of approach between the archaeologist and the historian of religion. An archaeologist will assume discontinuity when this is evident in the archaeological material.

R. Felsch: A remark on the method of establishing continuity of cult. We have continuity from prehistoric to historical times at many sites, but the cult in historical times seems to differ from that of the prehistoric period. It seems to me that in order to be able to show continuity, one has to show that the place of worship within the sanctuary did not change and that the cult itself remained the same.

J. Schäfer: Attitudes towards the mimetic aspect of art correlate with concentration of power. This mimetic attitude dies during the Dark Ages when the nuclei of concentration of power fade.

P. Calligas: Those two speak of continuity forget the complete breakdown of the Mycenaean world. I think

of the 11th century as a time of birth and the 8th as the *floruit.*

S. Hiller: All that broke down was the palatial culture, not that of the Mycenaean people in general, who kept their traditions, as we can see in the continuity of the pottery.

W. Burkert: Let us now concentrate on the reasons why the Renaissance occurred.

E.C. Kopff: Some remarks about what made the 8th century great. By definition it could not have been continuity because continuity was there before the Greek Renaissance. What matters is what people did with what was in front of them, how they responded to the old and the new. I would like to suggest that in all the great ages that we know of, of expansion and discovery, whether it be the 5th century B.C., the 4th century A.D., the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the people who lived then hated it. I wonder if the turning back to the past, which characterizes the 8th century B.C., the cult of the heroic dead, the nobility's new formation, Homer's magnificent recreation of the past in which the aristocracy tried to find new models, was due not to continuity but *reaction.* Reaction to the new infiltrating cultures from the East, to colonization, violent changes in the population, money, etc. If there is anything to this idea, then perhaps the sub-title of our symposium should be "Innovation and Tradition". Many of the things we value most resulted from a negative response to new ideas, and we might start thinking about the "creativity of reaction".

O. Murray: It seems to me that E.C. Kopff's way of looking at the eighth century Renaissance is an extremely useful one. It can be seen as a succession of reactions driving people into more and more extreme positions. What these reactions do is to turn the aristocracy back to its Homeric past, and to turn others towards finding a way out of the Homeric past: the *demos,* the *laos* seeks to reject it. This negative reaction exactly characterizes Hesiod, with his negative attitude to the Homeric life-style. The best way of seing him is perhaps as an intensely conservative poet seeking in the myth of the five ages an ideal past, which unfortunately does not exist in the Homeric recreation of the Mycenaean age; so he has to innovate in a much more extreme way than Homer had to.

W. Burkert: I find one of the *external* reasons for the change in the 8th century, the development of the Assyrian power. This was a major change in world history when a super-power was developing and destroying the Near East. The unique situation of the Greeks in this perspective is that they were just far enough west not to have been destroyed.

S. Hiller to W. Burkert: It is not an accident that on the whole the true Orientalizing period in Greek art begins with the 7th century. I do not see many Oriental influences in the period of the Greek Renaissance, nor do I think they are responsible for the phenomenon.

W. Burkert: I think that Late Geometric and Orientalizing overlap. Already in the middle of the 8th century there are influences in the iconography; writing is part of an Oriental influence. The major Assyrian conquests are between 720 and 700, and so it fits very well that the major phase of Orientalizing influence begins about 700.

J.N. Coldstream: As a man who studies pots, I can say that almost every other form of art already shows traces of Oriental influences from 750 onwards. But it is the labelling of pottery which gives us the term Orientalizing for the seventh century. This is a verbal problem and no more.

C. Rolley: The first Greek lion is to be encountered on a fragmentary tripod from Delphi in the first quarter of the 8th century.

Population Growth and Movements

R. Hägg: As the organizer of the symposium, I was happy to hear from J. Schäfer that the term Renaissance corresponds to reality, but still we must ask: why did it occur at that period? We are now approaching a sort of explanation; that people reacted against the conditions of their age and that they were affected by external pressures from the East with the rise of the Assyrian empire. Should we not also, however, discuss more the possibility of an important internal pressure, the rise in population, which has been advocated by A.M. Snodgrass?

B.C. Dietrich: I am glad that R. Hägg brought this up because I have been thinking about the rise in population in another context. W. Burkert talked about Eastern ideas as being responsible for the wide-spread concern for pollution. But why should the oracular Apollo have been associated with it? I believe that whereas Eastern influence had a part to play, internal forces (and the rise in population was one of them) more directly led to a loss of confidence and an obsession with purification.

A point about Homer: One could say that Homeric influence destroyed tradition rather than revived it, because Homeric epic reshaped the Greek gods.

W. Burkert: I do not see that we are in disagreement. We must look at both sides of the development regarding pollution. Both external and internal factors worked together.

As to why Apollo: there is a connection between Crete and Delphi in the 7th century. We know that *Paeanes* were introduced to Sparta from Crete about 670, the 'Hymn to Apollo' has the Cretan *Paean* come to Delphi, Pythian Apollo goes to Crete for purification. I have no complete answer why Apollo

took the leading role in colonization and was such an important god in the Archaic period.

J.N. Coldstream: R. Hägg mentioned population growth as one of the major factors in the Renaissance. Most of us are ready to accept that there was a steep rise in the population, but how and why did it occur?

A.M. Snodgrass has cast some sombre light on the conditions prevailing in tenth- and ninth-century Lefkandi. If life expectancy then was only twenty years, opportunities for increasing the population must have been somewhat limited. (But I doubt whether we have yet seen the half of Lefkandi, and Snodgrass' surmise that there are about thirty more cemeteries to be found may be close to the truth. I am convinced that the cemeteries to the north-west of the Xeropolis hill belong to another settlement in the plain, traces of which are seen in the deposit from Stelio's field (now called Area SL).)

Returning to the life expectancy issue: might it be that the introduction of the domestic fowl in the later eighth century, and the consequent increase in protein in the diet, was partly responsible for a longer life expectancy and a more pleasant life?

B. Wells: According to L. Angel, life expectancy in this period was 30 years, although a little lower in the Argolid, perhaps due to protein deficiency in the diet.

J.N. Coldstream: In connection with the Renaissance I would like to mention the unquestioned acceptance of the Ionic epic dialect during the eighth century. This implies enormous respect for some major poet whose version of the epic tradition was so readily accepted that it broke all regional barriers (even a Dorian poet like Eumelos wrote in the Ionic dialect). I suspect that he was the poet of the *Iliad*, and deserves much of the credit for the Renaissance.

W. Burkert: As a philologist may I say that if Parry is right, it cannot be that we have *one* poet but many, a school of Ionian poets/singers. The Parrian formula system works only for the artificial epic dialect which has prominent Ionian features.

B. Wells: Could the rise of local styles be connected with rising feelings of local importance, like today, when we have strong nationalistic feelings in an expanding world?

J. Camp: I have a few words to say about A.M. Snodgrass' paper. He suggested that the Agora was of no special importance in the 8th century. I chose the Agora as a convenient habitation area to study 400 wells out of which 16 got filled at the end of the 8th century, a phenomenon totally unique in their history.

On the question of population rise and growth in the 8th century: In Attica, the number of graves from 750—700 outnumbers the graves from the 7th century, 700—650, by 4/5:1. I am perfectly willing to accept an increase of population in the 8th century, but then a mortality does set in. Why else was the growth not sustained in the 7th century?

An interesting point arises about Argos and Athens, the two non-colonizing states. Perhaps these two were more advanced than the other city-states having achieved a greater degree of urbanism. This may have allowed the epidemic, that I proposed, to have had a more destructive effect in these more densely populated areas.

As to the question why people did not move when the epidemic struck: Why did the Athenians not move in 429? Why are people dropping like flies in some areas today? The fact is that people do not always move. Now, a drought alone might encourage people to move (this is what happened to most colonizing states), but a combination of drought and epidemic prevented movement.

A. Johnston: About Athenian decline in the 7th century. Athenians started exporting oil around 725 and continued doing so until at least 675. It is impossible to judge statistically how much they sent abroad and how much they sent in comparison with other people, but these are the facts.

P. Themelis: In the case of Lefkandi and Eretria, the decline around 700 came as a result of the Lelantine War, in my opinion.

G. Michelson: Was land owned collectively by the clan of family? Was one of the results of the Greek Renaissance that the individual was able to break away from the pressures of the family, as in the European Renaissance, and own private property?

O. Murray: I do not know of any convincing evidence that the clan (*genos*) ever owned land collectively. The evidence from Homer suggests that the *kleros* was owned by individuals who inherited it, and that each property was divided equally between the sons. That of course caused great problems during a period of population expansion; but it also implies that although the owner was not entitled to alienate his land to anyone outside the family, he did in fact own it until his death, when it was divided between his sons equally and without primogeniture.

B. Bohen: The great prosperity of the mid-8th century is to be dated in Attica more than 50 years earlier. Evidence of this is to be found in cemeteries at Eleusis with very rich graves and at the Athenian Agora and Kerameikos. In the Kerameikos, the Middle Geometric cemetery has been destroyed and the prosperity of which it gives evidence has so far gone unrecorded. We now have material from that period which will correct the picture. There is also evidence of Athenian interests outside Attica from the first half of the 9th century onwards as evidenced by the influence of Attic style on Knossos and the islands of the Cyclades.

Regarding population expansion, the increase in the number of graves in the second part of the 8th

century implies an increase of the birth rate in the first.

E.L. Smithson: Judging from the burials of children and infants I would agree that there is very high prosperity in Middle Geometric Athens, when children had more of a chance of reaching adult age. This stops in Late Geometric. Another piece of evidence that would suggest an increase in the death-rate in Late Geometric is the method of burial. Older graves are cut through in a way that is unusual and which would indicate that there was lack of space.

C. Rolley: About the prosperity of Athens: I want to remind you that three things are happening in Athens in the second quarter of the 8th century, when other city-states are colonizing, and that may be of some significance. First, Athens is producing the first instances of figurative art. Secondly, for the first time, the Attic bronzesmith workshops are producing bronzes which are original in style, and no longer imitations of the Argive and Corinthian ones. Thirdly, from the beginning, such bronze objects are dedicated to Delphi, which demonstrates the very early contacts between Delphi and Athens.

W. Burkert: This implies the unifying force of Delphi in the middle of the 8th century.

R. Hägg: I would like us to look at the historical situation at the end of the 8th century and at the circumstances that may have led to decline.

We have decline in Athens, Argos, Koukounaries at Paros, Zagora at Andros, etc. In the case of Athens, it has been suggested that there was an increase of population in other parts of Attica such as Phaleron and Vari, which would imply a transfer of population. I have not been able to ascertain such a movement in the Argolid, however. Koukounaries and Zagora were abandoned peacefully at about the same time. It may be comprehensible that people abandoned these inhospitable sites which may have been chosen for reasons of security in the first place, and movement away from them would imply an end to insecurity or threat. In Eretria and Lefkandi we again have a decline and the one historical event which we know from that period, the Lelantine War, has been named as a cause for this decline by P. Themelis. There is also Knossos, which however, declines a century later, around 600, as J.N. Coldstream has shown. I wonder if this decline has a general cause, and if it can be put into a historical perspective. Can the drought advocated by J. Camp be responsible?

W. Burkert to D. Schilardi: Is there any estimate of the population of Koukounaries in the 8th century so that we could compare it with A.M. Snodgrass' estimate of Lefkandi?

D. Schilardi: The acropolis is very limited in size. It was much smaller than Zagora but we may have a further habitation area around it which has not been found yet.

J.N. Coldstream: In Paros I see following pattern. What was lost was the livelihood of people living in a remote bay, perhaps lacking in water. What was gained was the consolidation of the island's *polis*, a sense of belonging together, leading to the prosperity of the seventh century. In this optimistic world Archilochos's father was born, and told his son about it. Although Attic imports are lacking at Koukounaries, we do have copious Parian exports to Delos, and some to Knossos and Al Mina.

Programme and Participants

Programme of Sessions and Excursions, June 1—5, 1981

Morning session, June 1, on History and Society, chaired by R. Hägg
Papers by S. Hiller, J.N. Coldstream, R. Hägg and Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood (read by N. Marinatos), followed by a general discussion on history and society.

Afternoon session, June 1, on Art and Literature, chaired by E.B. Harrison
Papers by W. Burkert, E.C. Kopff, A. Johnston, J. Bouzek (not read) and J. Schäfer, followed by a general discussion on art and literature.

Morning session, June 2, on Religion and Sanctuaries, chaired by B. Bergquist
Papers by B.C. Dietrich, S. Hiller, D.W. Rupp, C. Rolley and W. Burkert, followed by a general discussion on religion and sanctuaries.

Afternoon session, June 2, on Metal Votives and Metal Working, chaired by G. Gesell
Papers by R.C.S. Felsch, K. Kilian, P. Courbin and P.G. Themelis, followed by a general discussion on metal votives and metal working.

Morning session, June 3, on Population and Social Customs, chaired by A. Cambitoglou
Papers by A.M. Snodgrass (read by B.C. Dietrich), D.U. Schilardi, H. Tzavella-Evjen, R. Hägg and O. Murray, followed by a general discussion on population and social customs.

Afternoon session, June 3, chaired by W. Burkert and R. Pålsson
This closing session contained a final general discussion and a paper read by J.N. Coldstream in the presence of Mr. Jan-Erik Wikström, the Swedish Minister of Culture. Evening reception for the participants and the archaeological community of Athens.

Bus excursion to Kalapodi, June 4
The participants were guided by R. Felsch and his collaborators on the site and in the store-room.

Bus excursion to Lefkandi and Eretria, June 5
The participants were guided on the sites of Lefkandi and Eretria and in the Eretria Museum by P.G. Themelis.

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Å. Åkerström, Göteborg
B. Alroth, Athens
A. Andreiomenou, Athens
B. Bergquist, Stockholm
I. Beyer, Freiburg
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N. Zoitopoulou, Athens

Abbreviations

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AAA	*'Αρχαιολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ 'Αθηνῶν. Athens annals of archaeology*
AbhMainz	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz, Geistes- und sozialwiss. Klasse*
AbhMünchen	*Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*
ABV	see Beazley, *ABV*
AG	see Snodgrass, *AG*
AJA	*American journal of archaeology*
AJP	*American journal of philology*
AnatSt	*Anatolian studies*
Andronikos	M. Andronikos, *Totenkult*, Göttingen 1968 (*ArchHom*, Band III, Kap. W)
Annales [E.S.C.]	*Annales (Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations)*
AntJ	*Antiquaries' journal*
AntK	*Antike Kunst*
ArchEph	*'Αρχαιολογικὴ ἐφημερίς*
ArchHom	*Archaeologia Homerica*, ed. F. Matz and H.-G. Buchholz (1967—)
ArchKorrespondenzbl	*Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*
ArchRep	*Archaeological reports*
Arg. Her.	Ch. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* I—II, Boston & New York 1902—05
Ariès, *L'h.*	Ph. Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, Paris 1977
ARV	see Beazley, *ARV*
ASAtene	*Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*
Asine I	O. Frödin & A.W. Persson, *Asine. Results of the Swedish excavations, 1922—1930*, Stockholm 1938
ASocR	*Archives des sciences sociales des religions*
AthMitt	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*
AttiMemMagnaGrecia	*Atti e memorie della Società Magna Grecia*
AuA	*Antike und Abendland*
Barbouna I	*Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine*, ed. by I. and R. Hägg, Fasc. I, Uppsala 1973
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American schools of Oriental research*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
Beazley, *ABV*	J.D. Beazley, *Attic black-figure vase-painters*, Oxford 1956
Beazley, *ARV*	J.D. Beazley, *Attic red-figure vase-painters*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1963
BerlWinckProg	*Winckelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*
BM	British Museum
BMetrMus	*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*
BMFA	*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston*
BonnJbb	*Bonner Jahrbücher*
Boreas	*Boreas. Uppsala studies in ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern civilizations*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
Burkert, *GR*	W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart 1977
CaC	E. Leach, *Culture and communication. The logic by which symbols are connected*, Cambridge 1976
CAF	*Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, ed. Th. Kock
CAH	*Cambridge ancient history*
Celeb.	R. Huntington & P. Metcalf, *Celebrations of death. The anthropology of mortuary ritual*, Cambridge 1979
CJ	*Classical journal*
CMS	*Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*, ed. F. Matz and I. Pini (1964—)
Coldstream, *GG*	J.N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977
Coldstream, *GGP*	J.N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric pottery*, London 1968
ConvMagnaGrecia	*Convegni di studi sulla Magna Grecia*
Courbin, *TGA*	P. Courbin, *Tombes géométriques d'Argos* I, Paris 1974
CQ	*Classical quarterly*
CR	*Classical review*
CVA	*Corpus vasorum antiquorum*
DAG	see Snodgrass, *DAG*
DAI	Deutsches archäologisches Institut
Deltion	*'Αρχαιολογικὸν δελτίον*
Diels, *Vorsokr.*	H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 6. verb. Aufl., hrsg. von W. Kranz (1951—)
EADélos	*Exploration archéologique de Délos* (1902—)
EG	Early Geometric
Entretiens Hardt	*Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* (Fondation Hardt, Vandœ vres-Genève)
EPHE	Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris
Ergon	*Τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἐν 'Αθήναις 'Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
EtCl	*Les études classiques*
EtMagn	*Etymologicum Magnum*
Evans, *PM*	A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* I—IV, London 1921—35
FD, FdD	*Fouilles de Delphes* (Ecole française d'Athènes)
FGrH, FGrHist	*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby
GANWP	see Rupp, *GANWP*
GBC	see Kurtz & Boardman, *GBC*
GG	see Coldstream, *GG*

GGP	see Coldstream, *GGP*
GGrR	see Nilsson, *GGrR*
GodišnSarajevo	*Godišnjak* (Sarajevo)
GR	see Burkert, *GR*
Gräber	see Hägg, *Gräber*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine studies*
Hägg, *Gräber*	R. Hägg, *Die Gräber der Argolis in submykenischer, protogeometrischer und geometrischer Zeit* 1, Uppsala 1974
HR	Helladique Récent
HSCP	*Harvard studies in classical philology*
HThR	*Harvard theological review*
IAUC	Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Catania
ICS	see Masson, *ICS*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Institutes*
JFA	*Journal of field archaeology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic studies*
JIAN	*Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern studies*
Kleine Schriften Marburg	*Kleine Schriften aus dem Vorgeschichtlichen Seminar Marburg*
KMF	Knossos Medical Faculty
KrChron	*Κρητικὰ χρονικά*
Ktèma	*Ktèma. Civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques*
Kurtz & Boardman, *GBC*	D.C. Kurtz & J. Boardman, *Greek burial customs*, London 1971
L	*Lefkandi* I: *The Iron Age*, ed. by M.R. Popham and L.H. Sackett, with P.G. Themelis, London 1980
LakonSpoud	*Λακωνικαὶ σπουδαί*
LC	Late Cypriot
LG	Late Geometric
LH	Late Helladic
Listy fil.	*Listy filologické*
LM	Late Minoan
L-P	E. Lobel & D. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta*, Oxford 1955
LPG	Late Protogeometric
LS	see Sokolowski, *LS*
MarbWinckProg	*Marburger Winckelmann-Programm*
Masson, *ICS*	O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris 1961
MB Sinn	Megarian Bowl Cat.No. according to U. Sinn, *Die homerischen Becher*, Berlin 1979
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
MémAcInscr	*Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts in Boston
MG	Middle Geometric
MonAnt	*Monumenti antichi*
MonPiot	*Monuments et mémoires. Fondation E. Piot*
MusHelv	*Museum Helveticum*
Nilsson, *GGrR*	M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I, 3. Aufl., München 1967
OlBer	*Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*
OlForsch	*Olympische Forschungen*
OpAth	*Opuscula Atheniensia*
OpRom	*Opuscula Romana*
OrphFr	*Orphicorum fragmenta*, ed. O. Kern
OT	*Old Testament*
Page, *PoetMelGr*	*Poetae melici Graeci*, ed. D. Page, Oxford 1962
ParPass	*La parola del passato*
PBF	*Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, ed. H. Müller-Karpe
PG	Protogeometric
PGM	*Papyri Graecae magicae*, ed. K. Preisendanz, 1931[2]
PM	see Evans, *PM*
PGM	see Page, *PoetMelGr*
PoetMelGr	see Page, *PoetMelGr*
PPS	*Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*
PraktAkAth	*Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*
Praktika	*Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
Proc1(2,3,4)CretCongr	*Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Α΄ (Β΄, Γ΄, Δ΄) Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*
PZ	*Prähistorische Zeitschrift*
RA	*Revue archéologique*
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*
RE	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
RendLinc	*Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti*
RevNum	*Revue numismatique*
RevPhil	*Revue de philologie*
RGVV	*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
Rupp, *GANWP*	D.W. Rupp, *The Greek altars of the Northwestern Peloponnese, ca. 750/725 B.C. — ca. 300/275 B.C.* (diss. Bryn Mawr College)
SBHeid	*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*
Scripta Minora	*Scripta minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis — Studier utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund*
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*
SIG[3]	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., 1915—24
SIMA	*Studies in Mediterraean archaeology*
SMEA	*Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici*
Snodgrass, *AG*	A.M. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*, London 1980
Snodgrass, *DAG*	A.M. Snodgrass, *The dark age of Greece*, Edinburgh 1971
Sokolowski, *LS*	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969
SPG	Subprotogeometric
TAPS	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
TGA	see Courbin, *TGA*
TGF	*Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas*
Vorsokr.	see Diels, *Vorsokr.*
Vovelle, *Mour.*	M. Vovelle, *Mourir autrefois*, Paris 1974
WS	*Wiener Studien*

Note. For abbreviations of the names of ancient authors and documents, see the *Oxford classical dictionary* (1970[2]), pp. ix—xii, or a similar list of abbreviations.

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by Gullög Nordquist and Jon C. van Leuven

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